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## **Putting the foreign in news translation**

### **A reader-response investigation of the scope for foreignising the translation strategies of the global agencies**

Scammell, Claire Naomi

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King's College London

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**Putting the foreign in news translation: a reader-  
response investigation of the scope for foreignising the  
translation strategies of the global agencies**

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**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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**King's College London**

**Department of Education & Professional Studies**

## **Abstract**

This thesis contributes to a developing body of translation studies research that has begun to cast much needed light on the role of translation in news production. A norm for news to be translated using an acculturating strategy has been identified and argued to be necessary in the case of journalistic texts (Bassnett, 2005). This thesis considers the acculturation norm to be problematic for two reasons: 1) acculturation obscures the translation process, and therefore the intervention of the journalist-translator in translated quotations; 2) acculturation obscures, and therefore prevents the reader from engaging with, the foreign source culture. It asks whether there might be scope for introducing a degree of foreignisation, and what the impact might be on reading ease, translation awareness and the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness. The thesis builds on the work of Cronin (2006) and Bielsa (2010; 2012; 2014) in introducing the sociological concept of cosmopolitanism to translation studies. The potential for news translation to enable cosmopolitan connections, a normative ideal in this thesis, is considered to be fulfilled by a translation strategy that reveals rather than obscures the foreignness of the source news context (Bielsa, 2014). As prolific news content providers, the global agencies (Reuters, Associated Press and Agence France-Presse) are the focus of the research; with Reuters, British readers and news from France as a case study. A 'foreignised' strategy is developed as a hypothetical, yet viable, alternative to current practice. The changes impact the translation of culture-specific terms and quotations; two elements of foreign news reporting that always involve translation. A reader-response investigation is conducted using focus groups, an under-used method in translation studies. The data indicates the strategy does not have a negative impact on reading ease and illuminates the cosmopolitan potential of a foreignised approach to news translation.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Global news production**

"More than any other news media form, the newspaper has an explicitly normative role in how we see the world. Our news is our world to the extent that it contributes enormously to our understanding of what happens beyond our everyday experiences" (Conboy, 2007 p.12)

This research project is concerned with how translation, as a key stage in the process of reporting foreign news, contributes to readers' understandings of foreign news events and the cultures they originate in. The 'Big three' global news agencies, Reuters, Agence France-Presse (AFP) and Associated Press (AP), play an invisible role as "news wholesalers" (Boyd-Barrett, 1997) providing news information to subscribers via newswires in multiple languages; the content they produce dominates the foreign news we encounter in print and online. The aim of this opening chapter is to show that the foreign news we read in print and online is dominated by content produced by these agencies. Part 1.1 examines the agencies' role as news wholesalers and the reliance on agency copy within the British press. Part 1.2 highlights the predominance of reported speech in the news and the dependence on the news agencies as a source for quotation. Part 1.3 illustrates the observations of the first two parts with examples of Reuters news reporting reproduced in the mainstream British press.

#### **1.1 The (increasing) dominance of the global news agencies**

Global news systems embody the globalised world we live in. When a news story breaks anywhere in the world we receive verbal and written reporting almost instantaneously on our television screens, radios and online, in the language we speak (Cronin, 2003 p.49). Whilst having journalists based in every corner of the globe is an unrealistic ideal for national news organisations, the 'Big three' global news agencies - Reuters, Associated Press and Agence France-Presse - maintain vast networks of bureaus and reporters worldwide, making this handful of agencies the world's primary source for breaking news. In a case study of the Belgian press, van Doorslaer (2009) shows a strong correlation between the news agency used predominantly as a source and the percentage of coverage reporting events in the agency's home market (Reuters being the British agency, AP the US agency and AFP the French agency). The dominance of the 'Big three' is not a new phenomenon; in 1991 Bell observed that

the global agencies “provide a large majority of the world’s news about itself” (Bell, 1991 p.48). The news agency model has since developed; in addition to providing news content to subscribers, the global agencies now also provide news information direct to internet users, making Bell’s observation all the more pertinent.

In this first part of the chapter factors contributing to the increasing dominance of the global news agencies are discussed; the demise of original foreign news reporting in the British press (1.1.1), the growth of online news (1.1.2) and the traditionally ready-to-publish nature of news agency reporting (1.1.3).

### **1.1.1 The demise of original foreign news reporting**

Reporting on foreign events in the British press is in decline. The analysis presented in the Media Standards Trust’s 2010 report (Moore & Loyn, 2010) shows a reduction in both the amount of space and prominence given to foreign news stories. The authors report a 40 percent fall in the number of international stories published by the four newspapers studied – the *Guardian*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror* – between 1979 and 2009 (*ibid* p.9). Among other factors, the authors highlight British newspapers’ reduced numbers of foreign correspondents based permanently abroad (meaning they are unable to ‘scoop’ foreign stories when they break) as a factor contributing to the decline in foreign reporting. Traditional print news media simply cannot compete with the vast networks of journalists the global agencies maintain across the globe<sup>1</sup>; who have teams of reporters ‘on the ground’ where the majority of national news organisations cannot sustain a single foreign correspondent.

The report by the Media Standards Trust attributes the combined cost of staffing a foreign desk at home and sending correspondents to report on the story locally as a contributing factor in the decline of international reporting (Moore & Loyn, 2010 p.31). The report’s comparison of the location of *Daily Telegraph* correspondents on one day in 1979 compared to the location of correspondents on the same day in 2009 is particularly illuminating:

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<sup>1</sup> The scale of the global agencies’ networks can be most clearly seen in the information AFP presents on its website: “AFP’s 200 bureaus cover 150 countries across the world, with 80 nationalities represented among its 2,260 collaborators. The Agency operates regional hubs in five geographical zones”. Retrieved 28.07.2015 from: <http://www.afp.com/en/agency/afp-in-world/>

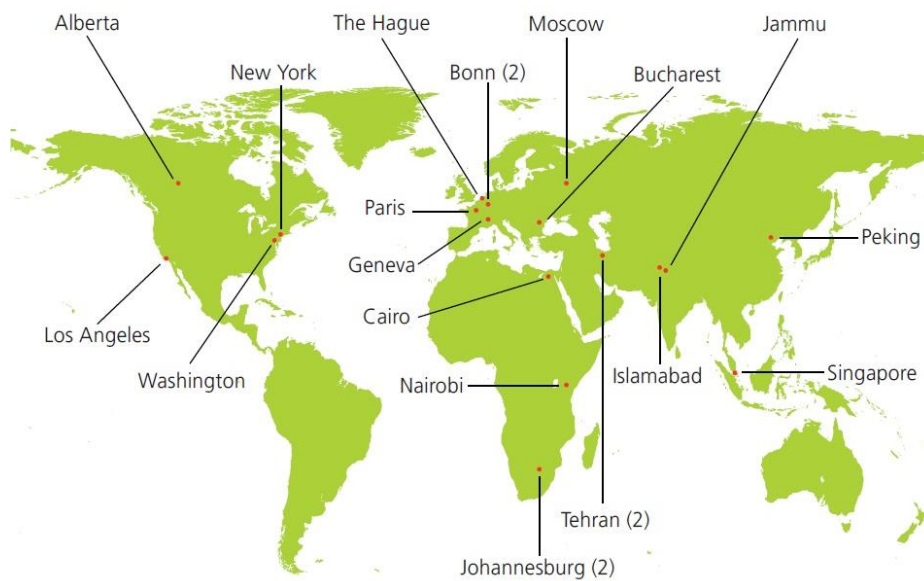


Figure 1 - Location of Daily Telegraph correspondents, Friday 9 March 1979



Figure 2 - Location of Daily Telegraph correspondents, Friday 6 March 2009

(Moore & Loyn, 2010 p.36)

Wilke and Rosenberger attribute the dominance of the global news agencies directly to the fact that individual news organisations cannot afford to have foreign correspondents based abroad (1994 p.421). Reduced numbers of foreign correspondents based abroad has led to the development of a news gathering practice described in the Media Standards Trust report as 'parachute journalism' (Moore & Loyn, 2010 p.43), whereby teams of reporters are urgently sent abroad when a foreign news story breaks. Parachute reporting is a solution to the problem that news organisations cannot afford to have foreign correspondents stationed abroad, but despite it having become common practice, reservations remain about news information gathered this way (Allan & Zelizer, 2010 p.107). Furthermore, the time newspapers lose while waiting for their reporters to get 'on the ground' makes it impossible to compete with the global news agencies, and the *BBC*, to break the story.

The Media Standards Trust describes journalists working for the *Financial Times*, the *Times* and the *Guardian*, with their the modest number - in the "double figures" - of foreign correspondents based abroad, as "the rump of professional UK journalists based overseas" and Reuters, the AP, and the *BBC* as the "bedrock of international reporting" (Moore & Loyn, 2010 p.43). Rather than attempting to compete, the traditional print news media actually rely on the news agencies for initial reports from the scene of global news events (Allan, 2006 p.36; Boyd-Barrett, 1997 pp.131-132). After all, "if another news organisation can cover a story more quickly, and in more depth, than you can – why do it again? Why not just link to it?" (Moore & Loyn, 2010 p.39).

In part 1.1.2, the birth of the news aggregation industry and a shift in the traditional news agency model towards the news agencies making their content available direct to Internet users are explored as further factors contributing to the increasing dominance of the 'Big three' agencies.

### **1.1.2 The growth of online news**

Competition from online news sources offering free and easily accessible foreign news reporting is one explanation offered by the Media Standards Trust for the decline in foreign news reporting in the British press (Moore & Loyn, 2010 p.39). However, the report counters that less than 10 percent of the UK's population actually accesses news online. Figures from the Reuters Institute suggest a much more serious threat from online news organisations. The 2012 Digital

Survey's figures may be slightly inflated given that the survey was conducted online and therefore, it could be argued, automatically excluded non-Internet users, or certainly precluded non-Internet users from completing the survey. However, even factoring in possible inflation, the data indicate that a significant proportion of British readers are finding their news online. A massive 82 percent of UK respondents reported to have accessed news online in the past week, compared to only 54 percent having accessed print news sources (Newman, 2012 p.23).

In addition to the data on the percentage of British respondents accessing news online, the Reuters Institute report details which online sources respondents accessed. The data reflect the well-documented strong lead of the *BBC News* website as an online news source<sup>2</sup> – 58 percent of all respondents said they had accessed news on the *BBC* website in the past week. *Sky News* and *Yahoo! News* came out in second place with 15 percent each, followed by the category of local newspapers at 14 percent. The only British newspapers to make it into the top spots with their online news offerings were the *Mail Online* (the online version of the *Daily Mail*) with 13 percent and the *Guardian* with 10 percent (Newman, 2012 p.14). Of particular interest to the current discussion is the popularity of the news aggregators. In addition to the 15 percent of respondents who accessed news on the *Yahoo! News* website, the Reuters Institute report provides data on two other news aggregators, *Google News* (accessed by 9 per cent of UK respondents) and *MSN* (accessed by 7 percent of UK respondents) (*ibid* p.27).

Aggregated news websites are a relatively new addition to online news sources; Paterson dates the emergence of the industry to the period between 2001 and 2006 (2007 p.57). The content analysis Paterson completed during this period demonstrates news aggregators' "near total dependence" on content produced in particular by AP and Reuters (*ibid*, p.62). These websites do not produce their own news content but aggregate news from other sources, and mostly from the 'Big three' news agencies. *Google*, *Yahoo!* And *MSN* are all portal websites. Providing news content is one of the ways in which portal websites keep Internet users on their web pages; Yahoo led the initiative in the 1990s by developing a relationship with Reuters (*ibid* p.58).

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<sup>2</sup> Ofcom report, *BBC News is the most popular news site among UK internet users* (2012). Retrieved 23.09.2015 from: <http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/market-data-research/market-data/communications-market-reports/cmr12/internet-web/uk-4.56>; Top 40 UK news websites: BBC still leads Mail Online, Dominic Ponsford, 7 September, 2011, PressGazette. Retrieved 05.09.2015 from: <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/node/47827>



Portal websites are one of two categories of online news providers Paterson identifies in his 2007 study. The second category is “content-producing online media”, which offer a combination of news agency content and original reporting. Paterson includes traditional news organisations, such as the *BBC* and *New York Times*, in this category (*ibid* p.58). On the basis of his analysis of the content of online news sources in both categories, Paterson concludes that the only organisations producing “extensive international reporting” online are the *BBC*, Reuters, AP and AFP, with traditional media such as the *Guardian* and *New York Times* producing “some international reporting” and most online news organisations producing no original reporting at all (*ibid* p.63).

The speed at which foreign news is disseminated across the globe has increased since the global news agencies began making their content available direct to internet users. In an analysis of how news about the London Bombings on 7 July 2005 reached readers, Allan demonstrates just how immediate news agency reporting can be. At 09:26 on the morning of the attacks, Reuters reported on their website that a loud bang had been heard at Liverpool Street Station. The quoted source was the British Transport Police (Allan, 2007 p.5) who had themselves only been alerted to the loud bang 37 minutes before the report was uploaded to the Reuters website<sup>3</sup>. The timestamp given to the report in the Factiva database suggests that the report reached subscribers to the Reuters newswire even sooner; just 23 minutes after the police were notified<sup>4</sup>.

Internet users now also have access to news agency content via social media platforms, a relatively recent development in the news agency model (and seemingly developing still). In 2010 Holton observed that some news organisations have a policy of not breaking news on Twitter (2012 p.127). Holton references an article posted on *Mashable.com* in 2010 which reports that Reuters’ updated social media policy instructed journalists not to break news stories on social media before they are broken on their newswire<sup>5</sup>. The latest version of Reuters’ social

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<sup>3</sup> According to the *Emergency services response at Aldgate* timeline published on the BBC News website, the call was received at 08:49. Retrieved 12.06.2014 from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-13301195#es-aldgate-0849-content>

<sup>4</sup> The 68-word report *London's Liverpool St. Station closed after "bang"* is timestamped at 09:12 in the Factiva database. Retrieved 12.06.2014 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?lnep=hp>

<sup>5</sup> Reuters to journalists: Don't break news on Twitter, Jennifer Grove, MashableUK. Retrieved 05.09.2015 from: <http://mashable.com/2010/03/11/reuters-social-media-policy/>

media policy, set out in the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* (Reuters, 2014), includes no such instruction<sup>6</sup>. Indeed, the observation appears now to be outdated, at least in the case of the 'Big three' news agencies and their ever-evolving social media policies. The version of AP's social media guidelines set out on its website as I write this (last revised in May 2013) states that the journalist's "first obligation is to provide full details to the appropriate news desk for use in AP services"<sup>7</sup>, but after doing so, they are free to post information on social media websites, except in the case that the material is "exclusive" (in which case the journalist must wait for it to be published by AP's news services first). The version of AFP's social media guidelines currently available on its website was also last modified in 2013; it states that its journalists must not post breaking or developing news on social networking sites<sup>8</sup>.

As a follower of the @AFP Twitter handle, I was surprised to find this instruction regarding developing news, as I frequently see updates about developing stories in the AFP Twitter feed. Checking the feed as I am writing this I find a Tweet about a breaking news story posted at 8:40am with the hashtag #BREAKING and an update about the same story posted at 8:55am with the hashtag #UPDATE:



Figure 3 - AFP Twitter feed via Hoot Suite, 04.07.2014

The Factiva database shows that AFP published a report with the same headline as the #BREAKING tweet, ten minutes later. It appears then that, contrary to its social media guidelines, AFP broke this story on Twitter.

<sup>6</sup> The version downloaded 02.10.2014 states that the page was last modified 16:26, 11 August, 2011.

<sup>7</sup> *Social Media Guidelines for AP Employees*. Retrieved 04.07.2014 from [http://www.ap.org/Images/Social-Media-Guidelines\\_tcm28-9832.pdf](http://www.ap.org/Images/Social-Media-Guidelines_tcm28-9832.pdf), Associated Press.

<sup>8</sup> *Guidelines for using social media*, AFP, Retrieved 04.07.2014 from <http://www.afp.com/communication/new-social-media-guidelines.pdf>

This example does however reflect the part of the policy that says, “links to AFP content should go to AFP’s Facebook, YouTube or Daily Motion sites and through client websites”. The #UPDATE tweet links to the same AFP report reproduced on *YahooNews.com*<sup>9</sup>. The fact that the tweet was posted only 5 minutes after the AFP report was released onto the wire indicates how quickly the report was re-published by *Yahoo! News* and subsequently linked to in the AFP tweet. All of the stories posted within the last three hours link to AFP content on other news websites. The majority of links take the reader to the regional websites of the aggregator *Yahoo! News* but a significant proportion go to ‘content-producing’ news organisations. AFP does publish a small number of its news reports on its own website; none of the content linked to by the aforementioned tweets has (at the time of writing) been published on the AFP website.

Reuters also publishes its new content on its website, to a much greater extent than AFP; reporting dominates the homepage meaning the website functions as a news website in its own right. This is reflected in the fact that Reuters is, at the time of writing, ranked 18<sup>th</sup> in Alexa’s top news websites list<sup>10</sup>, while AP is 66<sup>th</sup> and AFP 205<sup>th</sup>. All of Reuters’ tweets in the last three hours (as I write this) link to content on the Reuters website. Contrary to AFP and Reuters, AP does not publish any of its content on its main website but each of the links in tweets by the agency in the past three hours took me to *Bigstory.ap.org*, a site that is not currently linked to from *Ap.org* but which seems to function as a news website publishing AP reporting. AP’s social media policy encourages journalists to use social media accounts in order to “gather news and share links to our published work” and in several places stresses the importance of sharing AP journalism through the various social media channels.

### 1.1.3 Ready-to-publish news

The news reports the global agencies release onto their wires are produced in order to be reproduced. Reuters describes the content provided by its “flagship text newswire”, *Reuters World Service*, as “ready to publish”<sup>11</sup>, similarly, AP’s international text service promises

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<sup>9</sup> *India nurses return from Iraq to emotional welcome*. Retrieved 04.07.2014 from: [http://news.yahoo.com/india-nurses-iraq-conflict-freed-nurse-tells-afp-075140130.html;\\_ylt=AwrSyCWgXbZTtQ0A3yLQtDMD](http://news.yahoo.com/india-nurses-iraq-conflict-freed-nurse-tells-afp-075140130.html;_ylt=AwrSyCWgXbZTtQ0A3yLQtDMD)

<sup>10</sup> *Top sites: News*, Alexa. Retrieved 28.07.2015 from: <http://www.alexa.com/topsites/category/News>

<sup>11</sup> ‘Ready to publish’ is listed as a feature of the World Service newswire in the ‘Fact Sheet’. Retrieved 16.06.2014 from: <http://thomsonreuters.com/reuters-world-service/>

subscribers “ready-to-use story summaries”<sup>12</sup> and AFP states that its content is delivered in a “ready-to-use” format. Additionally, in case the end-user does not wish to use a report in full, it can easily be cut to size thanks to the use of the inverted pyramid structure, a norm of English-language newswriting established in the US in the late nineteenth century (Bell, 1991 p.172). In the pyramid structure information is provided in order of importance, meaning that the essential details are covered in the first few paragraphs, with the closing paragraphs mostly providing background to the story (Cotter, 2010 p.140). The inverted pyramid structure, combined with a lack of connectors between paragraphs (Bell, 1991 p.172) means that the report can be easily shortened either by simply cutting from the bottom or by removing unwanted paragraphs.

Bell makes a connection between the journalists’ preference for material which can be easily reworked and the fact that “news agencies provide a majority of any newspaper’s copy” (Bell, 1991 p.58). This connection is illustrated in the case of domestic news in the mainstream British press by analysis Lewis, Williams and Franklin completed of reporting by the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Guardian*, the *Independent* and the *Daily Mail*, and interviews they conducted with journalists in order to assess the extent to which journalists are dependent on news agency copy (in this case largely by the UK’s national press agency, *Press Association*) and public relations material (Lewis et al., 2008) for their domestic reporting. They note a preference for agency copy over press relations material (*ibid* p.41) and a tendency for the byline to give the impression that the reporting was done by the newspaper’s own journalists even when the content is “wholly dependent on agency copy” (the case for 30 percent of the reports analysed) (*ibid* p.29).

The practice of news agency content being widely reproduced in verbatim or edited form online is a phenomenon that it not only well demonstrated in academic research (Lewis, Williams et al., 2008; Paterson, 2005; 2010; van Dijk, 1988), it is immediately observable in the news published online every day. If you were to enter the headline of any prominent report from the wire of one of the ‘Big three’ agencies into an Internet search engine you would be certain to find links to multiple news websites originating in different corners of the globe. To illustrate this,

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<sup>12</sup> In a description of the ‘Global Headline and Summary Streams’ text news service: “Global Headline and Summary Streams are brief headlines as news breaks, followed by ready-to-use story summaries. Meet your deadlines with concise news summaries for any platform or location”. Retrieved 16.06.2014 from: <http://www.ap.org/products-services/text>

I present the results of a brief analysis completed whilst writing this. I searched for the 'top' live headlines displaying in the 'products' section of the AFP website (the latest reports from the wire are displayed on this page to give potential customers an idea of the content). At the time of completing this section the 2014 Football World Cup was underway in Brazil and security issues in the host country were high on the news agenda; one of the top AFP headlines is, "Brazil police prevent protest near Maracana stadium".

Searching for the exact headline wording (between quotation marks) on Google produced 5,310 results. The high number of results means that completing a full analysis would be very time consuming, I have therefore limited the analysis to the first page of results only. With the exception of the *Bangkok Post* (the online version of the English-language Thai daily) and *Outlook India* (which calls itself a "news magazine"), the rest of the websites in the first page of results are news aggregators. All of the aggregated news websites reproduce the report exactly, either in full or just the first two paragraphs with a 'read more' option linking to the *Yahoo! News* website. It is only the *Bangkok Post* (added second paragraph) and *Outlook India* (deleted 'Sunday' from lead paragraph and last sentence) that make any changes to the text. Only the *Bangkok Post*, *Yahoo! News.com* and *Yahoo! Sport.com* attribute AFP as the source, one aggregator credits the *Bangkok Post* and the rest of the aggregators credit 'Yahoo'<sup>13</sup>.

The impromptu and small-scale analysis described above is not particularly noteworthy in itself, nor was it intended to be. It simply aimed to demonstrate that the reproduction of news agency content online, often without the agency being attributed as a source, is a standard practice, and in doing so convince the reader that claims about the majority of global news having been produced by the 'Big three' agencies are well-founded and by no means outdated. In part 1.1.3, the reproduction of Reuters content from the case study corpus used in this research project is examined in order to demonstrate the reliance upon news agency reporting in the mainstream British press.

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<sup>13</sup> See Appendix 1.1 for a list of the first page of Google results, including the source website, the changes made to the AFP report and the attribution.

## 1.2 Reproductions of agency content – examples from the case study

Part 1.1 explores factors contributing to the dominance of the global news agencies; drawing on the literature I show how and why it is that the foreign news we encounter in print and online originates predominantly from the 'Big three' news agencies. While the evidence in the literature is convincing, the dominance of the agencies is most clearly appreciated when you encounter it in practice, something that is not difficult to do. In this second part of the chapter I present the examples I (readily) found when I went looking for my own evidence.

The methodology followed in this research project involves the selection of a small corpus of reports to constitute a case study. After selecting the four Reuters reports to use in the case study corpus (see 3.3.1) I searched the Internet for strings of text from the reports using Google, curious to see if I would find any evidence of the reports I had selected being reproduced in the mainstream British press. I found plenty of examples of the reports being reproduced via news aggregators across the globe, as well as some examples of reproductions by 'content-producing' media (Paterson, 2007 p.58), including a reproduction of the CRIME POLICIES report by the *Washington Post*<sup>14</sup>. The results also showed that two of the reports had been reproduced in edited form by two leading British newspapers; the SECURITY report in the online version of the *Daily Mail* (the *Mail Online*) and the THUGOCRACY report in the print copy of the newspaper. The THUGOCRACY report is also reproduced in both the online and print versions of the *Daily Telegraph*, although, as shown in the analysis presented below, having undergone more substantial editing.

### 1.2.1 The Reuters THUGOCRACY report in the *Daily Mail*

One of the two examples of a report from the Reuters corpus being reproduced in the print pages of a British newspaper is the reproduction of the THUGOCRACY report in the *Daily Mail*<sup>15</sup>. Table 1 below presents a comparison of the version published in the *Daily Mail* and the original Reuters report. **Bold** font indicates a change to the wording from the original and '[...]' indicates that text has been removed. Additionally, square brackets indicate the deletion of quotes or paragraphs, with the nature of the deletion specified. The deleted parts are not shown

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<sup>14</sup> *French Official Defends Policy as Riots Continue* [Unsigned], November 1, 2005. Retrieved 19.02.2015 from: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/10/31/AR2005103101757.html>

<sup>15</sup> *Sarkozy blames 'thugocracy' for Paris riots* [Unsigned], 30 November, 2007. Retrieved 05.09.2015 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?Inep=hp>

in the Reuters column for reasons of space and clarity but can be seen in the full THUGOCRACY report in Appendix 2.1.3.

<b>DAILY MAIL</b> (30 November 2007)	<b>REUTERS</b> (12:08 29 November 2007)
Sarkozy <b>blames</b> 'thugocracy' for Paris riots	Sarkozy <b>says</b> "thugocracy" behind French riots
RIOTS which hit <b>Paris</b> this week were the work of a 'thugocracy' of criminals and not the result of social deprivation, French president Nicolas Sarkozy said <b>yesterday</b> .	Riots which hit <b>a Paris suburb</b> this week were the work of a "thugocracy" of criminals and not the result of social deprivation, French President Nicolas Sarkozy said <b>on Thursday</b> .
<b>His</b> remarks came three days after dozens of police were injured in clashes with rioters following the death of two boys in a collision with a police car in the <b>northern</b> suburb of Villiers-le-Bel.	<b>Sarkozy's</b> remarks came three days after dozens of police were injured in clashes with rioters following the death of two boys in a collision with a police car in the suburb of Villiers-le-Bel, <b>to the north of Paris</b> .
[...] In a speech to police officers, Mr Sarkozy said: 'What happened has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a "thugocracy".'	<b>[quote cut] he said</b> in a speech to police officers. "What happened <b>in Villiers-le-Bel</b> has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a 'thugocracy'."
<b>[paragraph cut]</b> A massive police presence has <b>so far</b> restored a tense calm to <b>the suburb</b> but <b>the</b> traces of the violence, in the form of a burned-out library and car showroom and smashed shop windows [...], remain.	<b>[paragraph cut]</b> A massive police presence has restored a tense calm to <b>Villiers-le-Bel</b> [...] but traces of the violence, in the form of a burned-out library and car showroom and smashed shop windows [...], remain.
<b>After riots [...]</b> in 2005 there was a debate over the state of the grim housing estates that ring many French cities and the integration of millions of [...] immigrants.	<b>The 2005 riots, [...]</b> provoked months of agonised debate over the state of the grim housing estates that ring many French cities and the integration of millions of [...] immigrants.
<b>[3 paragraphs cut]</b> <b>But Mr Sarkozy [...]</b> said <b>improved facilities were not the answer</b> . 'The response to the riots isn't yet more money on the backs of the taxpayers. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters,' he said.	<b>[3 paragraphs cut]</b> Sarkozy [...], said <b>the answer to the riots did not lie in spending more on improving facilities</b> . "The response to the riots isn't yet more money on the backs of the taxpayers. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters," he said.

Table 1 - Reuters THUGOCRACY report reproduced in the *Daily Mail*

It is apparent that the journalist has made minimal edits to the content and without the wording changes having had any significant impact on the information conveyed. It is also possible to see how, as a result of the result of the pyramid structure and lack of paragraph connectors (see 1.1.3), the journalist/editor has been able to cut paragraphs from the middle and end of the THUGOCRACY report without needing to make any adjustments to the text. The journalist does not however change the order of the paragraphs, which the lack of paragraph connectors also allows, as seen in the reproduction of the same report in the *Telegraph Online* and *Daily Telegraph* below. Two paragraphs containing polling figures are added at the end of the *Daily Mail* report; these paragraphs can be seen in the full version of the report in Appendix 1.2.1.

### 1.2.2 The Reuters THUGOCRACY report in the *Daily Telegraph & Telegraph Online*

The Google search turned up two reproductions of the THUGOCRACY report by the same journalist, one published in the *Telegraph Online*<sup>16</sup> and one published in the newspaper's print version, the *Daily Telegraph*<sup>17</sup> the following day. Both reports are bylined to 'Henry Samuel in Paris' and, aside from a few minor differences, are identical in the first five paragraphs (the content of the first five paragraphs being a reproduction of content from the Reuters report). Both reports appear to have used additional source(s) for quotations from Sarkozy's speech to police officers, since the second half of both reports contain quotations not included in the THUGOCRACY report. More of the Reuters report is reproduced in the version published in the *Telegraph Online*; the first nine paragraphs can be traced back to content in the Reuters report. The edits the journalist makes to the Reuters content are more substantial than those made in the *Daily Mail* report shown in Table 1 above; although, as the comparison below aims to show, changes are made to the wording or order of information only, without having any significant impact on the content of these paragraphs.

In Table 2 below the version published in the *Telegraph Online* is compared with the original Reuters report. The *Telegraph Online* version is presented in the first column with the paragraphs split into numbered segments to aid the comparison. For example, text segment 1 in the first paragraph of the *Telegraph* column reads, 'Nicolas Sarkozy, the president of France', this segment is identified as corresponding with the segment numbered 1 in the Reuters column, 'French President Nicolas Sarkozy'. For the full *Daily Telegraph* report see Appendix 1.2.2. The *Telegraph Online* version is presented in Appendix 1.2.3 for comparison.

**Bold** text in the first column indicates content which was added in the version of the report that appeared in the *Telegraph Online*; the use of [...] in the Reuters column indicates content from within the original paragraph which is not included in the *Telegraph Online* version. Underlining on the text segments in both columns indicates a wording change affecting the meaning. In the lead paragraph for example, the journalist/editor of the *Telegraph Online* report adds that Sarkozy's comments "risked inflaming tensions" (bold in the first column) and changes "riots" to

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<sup>16</sup> *Sarkozy blames Paris riots on 'thugocracy'*, by Henry Samuel, 5:00 PM 29 November, 2007. Retrieved 01.09.2015 from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1570927/Sarkozy-blames-Paris-riots-on-thugocracy.html>

<sup>17</sup> *Thugocracy' behind riots, says Sarkozy*, by Henry Samuel, 30 November, 2007. Retrieved 01.09.2015 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?lnep=hp>



“violence” (underlined in both columns). The numbers in ***bold italics*** in the Reuters column indicate the order of the paragraphs in the original report.

<b>TELEGRAPH ONLINE</b> (17:00 29 Nov 2007)	<b>REUTERS</b> (12:08 29 Nov 2007)
Sarkozy blames Paris riots on 'thugocracy'	Sarkozy says "thugocracy" behind French riots
Nicolas Sarkozy, the president of France (1), / <b>has risked inflaming tensions</b> / in Parisian suburbs (2) / by declaring (3) / <u>violence</u> (4) / this week (5) / was the result of a "thugocracy" of criminals, not social deprivation (6).	<u>Riots</u> (4) which hit a Paris suburb (2) [this week] were the work of a "thugocracy" of criminals and not the result of social deprivation (6), French President Nicolas Sarkozy (1) said (3) on Thursday (5). <b>1</b>
His words (1) / came after three nights of violence (2) / sparked by the deaths of two teenagers in a crash with a police car (3). <u>At least 120 policemen</u> (4) / were injured in the rioting (5) / that followed the accident in Villiers-le-Bel, north of Paris (6).	Sarkozy's remarks (1) / came three days after (2) / <u>dozens of police</u> (4) were injured in clashes with rioters (5) / following the death of two boys in a collision with a police car (3) / in the suburb of Villiers-le-Bel, to the north of Paris (6). <b>2</b>
"What happened in Villiers-le-Bel has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a 'thugocracy,'" (1) / Mr Sarkozy said in a speech to <b>2,000 gendarmes</b> and policemen (2) <b>in Paris</b> .	[...] he said in a speech to police officers (2). <b>3</b> "What happened in Villiers-le-Bel has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a 'thugocracy.'" (1) <b>4</b>
While the term was less provocative (1) / than his description of <u>rioting youths</u> (2) / in 2005 (3) / as "racaille" - scum – (4) / <b>it was a clear indication that he had no intention of diluting his popular iron-fisted stance on the issue.</b>	In 2005 (3) / Sarkozy <u>triggered outrage</u> , (1) / [...], when he branded <u>the rioters</u> (2) / as "racaille" ("scum" or "rabble") (4). <b>13</b>
"I reject any form of other-worldly naivety that wants to see a victim of society in anyone who breaks the law, a social problem in any riot," he said. (1)	"I reject any form of other-worldly naivety that wants to see a victim of society in anyone who breaks the law, a social problem in any riot," he said [...]. (1) <b>3</b>
"The response to the riots isn't yet more money on the backs of the taxpayers. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters." (1)	"The response to the riots isn't yet more money on the backs of the tax payers. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters," he said. (1) <b>12</b>
"We'll give more to those who want to get ahead honestly." (1)	"We'll give more to those who want to get ahead honestly [...]." (1) <b>17</b>
<u>Dozens of shops were destroyed</u> (1) / <u>in unrest</u> (2) / <u>earlier this week</u> , (3) / with (4) <u>more than a hundred cars</u> , (5) / <u>a school</u> (6) and a library (7) burned (8).	[...] <u>over the past two nights</u> (3) / but traces of the <u>violence</u> , (2) / in the form of a (4) / burned-out (8) / library (7) / <u>and car showroom</u> (5) / and <u>smashed shop windows</u> (1) / <u>and bus shelters</u> (6), remain. <b>6</b>

**Table 2 - Reuters THUGOCRACY report reproduced in the *Telegraph Online***

Despite being bylined to “Henry Samuel in Paris” the bulk of the two reports published by the British broadsheet are essentially a (carefully edited) reproduction of a Reuters news report. At first glance the report appears to be completely different to the Reuters original but closer examination reveals that changes have been made to the order of the information within the paragraph or to the wording itself without significantly impacting the meaning. The two headlines, for instance, say the same thing but in different words. While the journalist has not added any original reporting to the version published in the *Telegraph Online*, the version published in the *Daily Telegraph* the following day does include additional content not reproduced from the THUGOCRACY report; the 218 words from paragraph 6 onwards in the print version relate to an interview Sarkozy gave on French television on the evening of the 29<sup>th</sup> (after the publication of the Reuters THUGOCRACY report and *Telegraph Online* version).

As mentioned above, as in the *Daily Mail* reproduction of the THUGOCRACY report, many paragraphs from the original Reuters report are not included, but they are not cut in the same straightforward way (3 from the middle of the inverted pyramid and 5 from the end, as shown in Table 1 above). The *Telegraph* journalist follows the structure of the Reuters report for the first three paragraphs only and then reproduces paragraphs 13, 3, 12, 17 and 6 in that order.

There are a few points of particular interest in the comparison in Table 2 above. Firstly, in the second paragraph, is the significant change in meaning in the text segment numbered 4 and underlined. Whereas Reuters reports that “dozens of police” were injured, in the *Telegraph Online* and *Daily Telegraph* the number is reported to be “at least 120”. It is possible that the *Telegraph* journalist obtained this figure from a different source, but given the discrepancy between the two figures, it seems more likely that this is an error of the kind identified by Bell in his analysis of 290 edited news agency reports (Bell, 1991 p.225). Bell observed that “virtually every editing inaccuracy” (150 were identified) resulted in the increased newsworthiness of the events reported (*ibid* p.229), as is the case with the discrepancy in the *Telegraph* report. The significantly higher number of injuries enhances the ‘negativity’ of the news story and therefore its newsworthiness as a foreign news event (Galtung & Ruge, 1965).

Another discrepancy comes in the final paragraph where the reports list buildings damaged in the rioting. The *Telegraph Online* version differs from the Reuters report here more so than in any other paragraph and to such an extent that the report could not be identified as a reproduction of the Reuters report on the basis of this paragraph alone. It is however logical to assume that the *Telegraph* journalist did not stop using the Reuters report as a source here. Furthermore, although it is harder to see the correspondence between the text segments, all but one of the segments can be matched; in the segment numbered 6, the *Telegraph* report includes “a school”, whereas the Reuters report includes “bus shelters” among the damaged structures. It is not possible to draw any conclusions about the reason for this discrepancy without investigating further, perhaps by looking at what damage is reported elsewhere, but it is interesting to note that reporting a school to have been damaged increases the ‘negativity’ of the news event since it implies a greater scale of damage, greater public cost and that children were at risk during the rioting.

A further point of interest is in paragraph 4, where Sarkozy is reported to have used the highly inflammatory term *racaille* to refer to the rioters, a quote which features prominently in the case study used in this project (see 3.3.2 for a detailed discussion). The reproduction of this quote in the *Telegraph* report is significant in three ways. Firstly, the quote in the Reuters report is positioned as context at the bottom of the inverted pyramid, in paragraph 13 of 17. Not only does the *Telegraph* journalist decide to include this context in a significantly shortened version of the report, he also moves it up the pyramid to paragraph 4. Secondly, the journalist retains the French word *racaille*.

The retention of foreign language is not typical of Reuters' translation practices, or indeed of Reuters journalist's handling of this widely-reported quote in particular (as shown in 6.2.1.3), but as the French word is retained in the Reuters report, it also appears in the reports published by the *Telegraph*. The journalist does however omit one of the two translations provided for *racaille* in the Reuters report, which is the third point of interest in relation to this quote. Providing two English terms in brackets as translations indicates to the reader that the French term has a particular meaning which cannot be conveyed precisely in English. In the *Telegraph Online* report, only "scum" is retained, meaning the reader has no reason to question its equivalence to *racaille*.

### 1.2.3 The Reuters SECURITY report in the *Mail Online*

Table 3 below compares a version of the SECURITY report published by the *Mail Online*<sup>18</sup> with the original Reuters report. **Bold font** shows where in the report a change has been introduced; the use of [...] in the third paragraph indicates that text from the original report has been removed. The deleted parts are not shown in the Reuters column for reasons of space and clarity but can be seen in the full report in Appendix 2.1.2. The *Mail Online* version of the SECURITY report is presented in Appendix 1.2.4.

<b>MAIL ONLINE</b> (16:45 08 February 2008)	<b>REUTERS</b> (13:15 08 February 2008)
Sarkozy <b>declares 'merciless war' on drug gangs and traffickers in £300m plan</b>	Sarkozy <b>pledges to beef up French suburb security</b>

<sup>18</sup> *Sarkozy declares 'merciless war' on drug gangs and traffickers in £300m plan*, [Unsigned] 8 February, 2008. Retrieved 12.02.2015 from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2036943/Nicolas-Sarkozy-announces-plans-send-teenage-thugs-military-boot-camp.html>

Nicolas Sarkozy <b>today</b> promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a "merciless war" against gangs and drug traffickers in France's <b>riot-stricken slums</b> .	<b>President</b> Nicolas Sarkozy promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a "merciless war" against gangs and drug traffickers in France's <b>poor suburbs</b> .
The French president's plan to regenerate the <b>racially</b> diverse <b>high-rise neighbourhoods</b> is a response to the weeks of youth violence [...] that <b>erupted in 2005</b> and have occasionally flared up since.	Sarkozy's plan to regenerate the <b>ethnically</b> diverse <b>neighbourhoods of high-rise housing blocks</b> is a response to the weeks of youth violence [...] that <b>made headlines three years ago</b> and have occasionally flared up since.
"We will put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking," Mr Sarkozy told local leaders as he unveiled the plan.	"We will put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking," Mr Sarkozy told local leaders as he unveiled the plan.
<b>Mr</b> Sarkozy, who was a hardline interior minister at the time of the 2005 riots, also said the state could not help those living in poverty who were not willing to help themselves.	<b>But</b> Sarkozy, who was a hardline interior minister at the time of the 2005 riots, also said the state could not help those living in poverty who were not willing to help themselves.
"Those who don't want to do anything, the state will not do anything for them," he said.	"Those who don't want to do anything, the state will not do anything for them," he said.
<b>He</b> continued to take a tough line over those <b>who refuse</b> to respect French culture and way of life.	<b>Sarkozy on Friday</b> continued to take a tough line <b>with those refusing</b> to respect French culture and way of life.
"There is no place in France for polygamy, genital mutilation, arranged marriages, veils in school and hatred of France," he said.	"There is no place in France for polygamy, genital mutilation, arranged marriages, veils in school and hatred of France," he said.
<b>Mr Sarkozy also</b> promised <b>£375 million</b> to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the "rapid deghettoisation of particularly isolated neighbourhoods", which are often cut off from city centres even though they are geographically close.	<b>He</b> promised <b>500 million euros (\$724.6 million)</b> to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the "rapid deghettoisation of particularly isolated neighbourhoods", which are often cut off from city centres even though they are geographically close.
He <b>pledged</b> more job opportunities and special training contracts to help young people find employment, and plans to send children to schools in different areas to ensure a good social mix.	He <b>also promised</b> more job opportunities and special training contracts to help young people find employment, and plans to send children to schools in different areas to ensure a good social mix.
Mr Sarkozy unveiled his plan just ahead of municipal elections on March 9 and 16.	Mr Sarkozy unveiled his plan just ahead of municipal elections on March 9 and 16.
His popularity has plummeted since the beginning of the year and his party fears it will pay for this in the polls.	His popularity has plummeted since the beginning of the year and his party fears it will pay for this in the polls.
Voters' main concern is a feeling of lost spending power, and they say he has concentrated more on his private life with new wife Carla Bruni than on helping <b>his electorate</b> .	Voters' main concern is a feeling of lost spending power, and they say he has concentrated more on his private life with new wife Carla Bruni than on helping <b>them out</b> .
<b>Next to Mr Sarkozy as he revealed his plan stood urban policy minister Fadela Amara, the daughter of poor Algerian immigrants, who is a civil rights activist.</b>	<b>Sarkozy stood beside</b> Amara, the daughter of poor Algerian immigrants and founder of the group " <b>Ni Putes, Ni Soumises</b> " ( <b>Neither Whores, Nor Submissives</b> "), as he revealed his plan.
He said he would not stand for discrimination and urged the country's elite institutions, such as the Henri IV high school or the ENA civil servant training school, to be more diverse.	He said he would not stand for discrimination and urged the country's elite institutions, such as the Henri IV high school or the ENA civil servant training school, to be more diverse.
<b>Mr</b> Sarkozy's uncompromising <b>stance</b> when he was interior minister and his pledge to clean <b>rioters</b> out with a steamblaster generated deep hostility among many. <b>Though he was elected president last May, he did not find time to visit one of the impoverished suburbs until last month.</b>	Sarkozy's uncompromising <b>position with the mostly young rioters</b> when he was interior minister and his pledge to clean <b>them</b> out with a steamblaster generated deep hostility among many <b>in the suburbs and he has rarely returned.</b>

Table 3 - Reuters SECURITY report reproduced in the Mail Online

The very limited editing is plain to see in the ratio of normal (unedited) to bold (edited) font from just a quick glance at the table above; six of the paragraphs have not been edited at all. With the exception of the headline and the final line of the report, in the remaining paragraphs, closer examination shows that even when an edit has been made the journalist has made changes to the wording without significantly editing the content. Let us take the lead paragraph as an

example. There are three changes in total; two small changes are made to the information given to the reader - Sarkozy's title is removed and the word 'today' is added - and the description "poor suburbs" is edited to "riot-stricken slums". While the first two changes are largely inconsequential, the latter edit does impact the report at a connotative level. For a British reader suburbs are residential areas on the outskirts of a city<sup>19</sup> whereas slums are characterised by extreme poverty and over-crowding<sup>20</sup>. This edit, involving changing the English description of the culturally specific *banlieue*, is of particular interest since the translation of this term is a focus of this thesis (see 3.3.3).

The direct quotes are all reproduced exactly as in the Reuters report; this is in fact the case for all four of the reproductions analysed above and illustrative of the reliance of the British press on the news agencies as a source of quotations. The fact that so much of the content of news reports is quotation, and that quotes become embedded in the world's media in the form that news agencies translate them is the concern of the final part of this chapter.

### 1.3 The global agencies as a source for translated quotations

The reproduction of Sarkozy's quotations, as translated by Reuters, in the reports analysed in 1.2 illustrate how the words of key political figures become embedded in the global news system in the way in which they are translated by the global news agencies. The quotation in the last paragraph of the reproduction of the SECURITY report in the *Mail Online* (see 1.2.3 immediately above) offers a particularly clear illustration. The word "steamblander" is an unusual choice on the part of the Reuters journalist; more common translations for the brand name are "power hose" and "industrial cleaner" (see 3.3.2), both of which are less striking not only because they are standard product descriptions for the Karcher cleaner, but also because "steamblander", having the verb "to blast" at its root, paints a more violent and therefore more controversial picture of what Sarkozy said. The choice made by the journalist/editor to translate the Karcher brand name as "steamblander" directly impacts the way in which Sarkozy's words

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<sup>19</sup> The entry for 'Suburb' in the Oxford English Dictionary online is: "An outlying district of a city, especially a residential one", with the following examples of usage – 'a highly respectable suburb of Chicago', 'a working-class suburb', 'life is much better in the suburbs'. Retrieved 22.09.2015 from: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/suburb>

<sup>20</sup> The entry for 'Slum' in the Oxford English Dictionary online is: "A squalid and overcrowded urban street or district inhabited by very poor people". Retrieved 22.09.2015 from: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/slum>

are represented in news reporting which reproduces the Reuters content in full or adapted form, or which simply draws on the Reuters content for the translation of the quotation.

### **1.3.1 Reliance on the global news agencies as a source for quotations**

As I describe at the beginning of part 1.2, I found the reproductions of the Reuters reports in the corpus by entering the wording of the quotations into Google. The resulting news reports naturally therefore provide evidence of the mainstream British press reproducing the translation of quotations published on news agency wires rather than producing their own translations. A reliance on the news agencies as a source for quotations in particular is also reflected in the Reuters *Handbook of Journalism*, where it is stated that subscribers value their reporting of quotation in particular (Reuters, 2014 p.81). The interview data collected by Filmer as part of her PhD project provides evidence to the contrary – at least in some language combinations (Italian into English, in Filmer’s study); the British foreign correspondents Filmer interviewed as part of her PhD project stated that they translate quotations themselves; one journalist commented, “agencies do not come into it” (Filmer, 2014 p.271).

Whether the reproduction of agency translations of quotations in the mainstream British press is commonplace or not, these translations still reach a wide global audience via news aggregators, content-producers and the agencies’ websites and social media platforms (see 1.1.2). The scale of the dissemination of agency news is captured in the claim made under the FAQ ‘Who hears or reads the news from The Associated Press?’ on the agency’s website:

AP news content is seen by half the world’s population on any given day. AP covers news on global, national and local levels, and then makes this content available to its members and customers for publication, broadcast and distribution<sup>21</sup>.

Furthermore, it is entirely possible, likely even, that the journalist might at least reference translations published on agency wires to help inform their own translation decision-making, particularly in the case of especially sensitive quotes.

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<sup>21</sup> Retrieved 28.07.2015 from: <http://www.ap.org/company/FAQs>

### **1.3.2 News is what someone said, as the global agencies reported it**

The responsibility of the 'Big three' news agencies in determining the way in which the words of key figures are represented in translation is a central concern of this research project. As van Dijk observes, "events usually become known through the already coded and interpreted discourses of others, most prominently through the dispatches of news agencies" (van Dijk, pp.96-97). The 'Big three' news agencies provide "journalism of information" (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1998 p.6); being trusted as providers of accurate, objective reporting is essential to the news agency model – "Because news agencies must please all editors, everywhere, they work harder than their client news organisations to appear objective and unbiased" (Paterson, 2005 p.60). The use of reported speech is one way in which commitment to these values is exercised. Direct quotation in particular is prized for allowing journalists to report fact and at the same time distance themselves from what was said (Bell, 1991 p.208; Tuchman, 1978 p.95), as well as for adding colour (van Dijk, 1988 p.97; Zelizer, 1989 p.372).

It is not surprising therefore that Bell's observation that news is mostly what someone says (1991 p.191) can be clearly seen in the reports written by the 'Big Three' news agencies. Figure 4 below shows a news report by AFP<sup>22</sup>; the highlighted parts are the only parts which are not essentially what an individual or organisation said. They provide the background for the news story, which is included in the final paragraphs (the bottom of the inverted pyramid) so that it can easily be removed by the customer if desired (Cotter, 2010 p.140):

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<sup>22</sup> Retrieved 28.07.2015 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?lnep=hp>



Agence France Presse -- English

October 8, 2010 Friday 2:15 PM GMT

## Sarkozy slams illegal immigration on Vatican visit

LENGTH: 267 words

DATELINE: VATICAN CITY, Oct 8 2010

President Nicolas Sarkozy said the fight against illegal immigrants was a "moral imperative" on Friday after talks with Pope Benedict XVI, while a top cardinal urged France to welcome immigrants.

"Fighting against illegal immigration, which generates so much distress and drama, which deprives the poorest countries of their vital forces, is a moral imperative," Sarkozy said at a meeting with Vatican clergy during his visit.

But senior French cardinal Jean-Louis Tauran earlier on Friday said during a prayer service in St Peter's basilica that "France and its leaders" should reflect on what they could do to "welcome the persecuted and immigrants."

A top Vatican official in August joined international criticism of France's crackdown on the Roma minority, saying Paris was flouting European norms.

"One cannot generalise and take an entire group of people and kick them out," Agostino Marchetto, secretary of the Vatican's Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People commission, said at the time.

Pope Benedict XVI also said earlier that the scriptures were "an invitation to know how to accept legitimate differences among humans."

France began a clampdown in July against illegal traveller camps and deported more than 1,700 Roma to Romania and Bulgaria.

The European Commission has threatened legal action unless Paris abides by EU rules on freedom of movement by October 15.

Sarkozy, whose visit to the Vatican is also being seen as a bid to win over Catholic voters in France, said France and the Church "have a great number of common causes" and are both struggling for the defence of human dignity.

LOAD-DATE: October 9, 2010

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

PUBLICATION-TYPE: Newswire

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**Figure 4 - AFP news report with highlights showing text not relating to what an individual/organisation said**

News reports are particularly dominated by quotes when, as in the above example, the quote comes from an elite source, since elite sources are considered to make a story more newsworthy (Bell, 1991 p.192).

If agency news reports are comprised largely of quotation, whenever the news story originates in a locale where a different language is spoken to the language of the target audience, a large proportion of the news reporting is necessarily translated. This makes the translation practices of the global news agencies an important object of research, especially in light of the fact that agency news content reaches a wide, global audience. In Chapter 2 I present the contributions from within the field of translation studies which illuminate the problematic role of translation within global news production. In particular I focus on how acculturating translation strategies render the translation process invisible in the news reports, thus obscuring a secondary level of mediation that occurs when journalists, who are nevertheless committed to the ideals of



objectivity and accuracy in reporting quotation, must intervene to translate, and therefore interpret what someone said.

## Chapter 2

### Global news translation

Global news is inherently multilingual. In addition to English, Reuters offers newswires in six languages (Arabic, French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish<sup>23</sup>) and AP offers newswires in two (Arabic and Spanish<sup>24</sup>). AFP's principal language is French, its newswires are available in five additional languages (English, Spanish, Arabic, Portuguese and German<sup>25</sup>). The role of translation in the production of global news has, however, been largely overlooked outside of translation studies (Bielsa, in press; van Doorslaer, 2012 p.1047), and has only recently begun to receive the attention it merits within the discipline. As Valdeón observes, "[i]f Translation Studies is a young discipline, news translation research is in its infancy" (Valdeón, 2015 p.1). The birth of news translation as a research area was marked by the 2006 "Translation in Global News" conference at the University of Warwick and the publication of its proceedings (Bassnett & Conway, 2006). The conference was part of a three-year project by the same name funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council. The project led to the publication of the book *Translation in Global News*, co-authored by Esperança Bielsa and Susan Bassnett (2009).

This chapter will review the key findings of the news translation literature, beginning with the observation that despite being central to the global news production process, the practice of translation is largely invisible within that process and, because of its particular characteristics, difficult even for researchers to distinguish (2.1). The second part of the chapter looks at how the agencies' use of acculturating translation strategies means the practice of translation is also invisible in the product, the news reporting itself (2.2). The third part of the chapter presents translation as a secondary stage of mediation in the news and considers in particular the translation of quotation and the potential for translation in foreign news reporting to facilitate cosmopolitan openness (2.3).

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<sup>23</sup> 2 French, 3 German, 1 Italian, 1 Russian, 3 Arabic (including the Arabic version of the World Service wire) and 2 Spanish language newswires are listed on the Reuters website. Retrieved 22.09.2015 from: <http://thomsonreuters.com/news-services/newswires/>

<sup>24</sup> Under the header 'Regional' on a page describing AP's text services, the website states "With regional news desks operating round the clock the stories you need are filed and updated by dedicated editorial teams in English, Arabic and Spanish". Retrieved 22.09.2015 from: <http://www.ap.org/products-services/text>

<sup>25</sup> In a factsheet downloadable from its website, AFP states that its text services are available in: "French, English, Spanish, Arabic, Portuguese and German". Retrieved 22.09.2015 from: [http://www.afp.com/sites/default/files/AFP-Direct\\_EN\\_BD.pdf](http://www.afp.com/sites/default/files/AFP-Direct_EN_BD.pdf)

## **2.1 The nature of translation in the global news agencies**

This section begins by detailing a key finding of scholars who have examined the translation practices of the global news agencies; that translation is so integral to the newswriting process that its practice is largely undocumented and unnoticed. The discussion then covers the range of other kinds of intra-lingual transformation that occur alongside translation in the process of “recontextualising” a foreign news event for a new audience. Finally, another important characteristic observed in the literature, the multi-source nature of news translation, is described and the challenge this presents to researchers considered.

### **2.1.1 The (non)status of translation within the global agencies**

Ethnographic research including interviews with agency journalists has revealed that translation processes are fully integrated within the news production process (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). This observation is based on the fact that agency style guides do not treat translation as a separate practice as well as the fact that the agency employees performing the translations are not translators by profession, nor do they consider themselves to be translators:

Journalists tend to be initially surprised when they are asked about their role as news translators, because they do not see translation as a separate process from the edition of texts. (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.65)

This finding is echoed in interviews Davier conducted at AFP's bureau in Switzerland (Davier, 2014 p.9); in an attempt to “distance” themselves from the practice, journalists used the term “editing” in place of “translation” to describe the interlingual element of their newswriting (*ibid* p.9). The acculturated nature of the translations produced by these journalists (described later in 2.2.2) leads Bielsa and Bassnett to conclude that news translation is “doubly invisible”; not only is translation obscured in the process of news production, it is also obscured in the product, the news reports themselves (2009 p.73).

The translation process is further obscured by the invisible role the news agencies themselves play as “news wholesalers” (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.34). The global news agencies publish news information in multiple languages onto their newswires, which subscribers are then free to re-publish without attributing the agency as a source. As discussed in the section that follows, the integration of translation within the news production process, as well as contributing to its

invisibility, presents the researcher with a challenge when it comes to identifying the exact role played by translation in news production.

### 2.1.2 Recontextualising the news

Within the global news agencies, translation is one part of a complex editing process involved in producing a new version of a news story for a new audience. The journalist makes a series of inter- and intra-lingual changes to the news information in order to produce a news report that meets the needs of the particular target audience:

Information that passes between cultures through news agencies is not only “translated” in the interlingual sense, it is reshaped, edited, synthesized and transformed for the consumption of a new set of readers. (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.2)

The changes occur in what has been described as a process of *recontextualisation* (Hernández Guerrero, 2010; Kang, 2007; Schäffner, 2008; 2012b) whereby the news content is adjusted to meet the needs of the target audience on the basis of what is considered relevant and what background knowledge the reader can be expected to possess. The need to ‘recontextualise’ a news story for a domestic audience is a standard feature of foreign reporting, whether inter-lingual translation is involved or not. A journalist reporting a US news event for a British audience will have to make the same kinds of decisions about what to include as a journalist reporting on a French news event.

There appears to be no distinction between the processes termed *recontextualisation* in the news translation literature and those termed *domestication* in the journalism studies literature (Clausen, 2004; Gurevitch et al., 1991). Clausen describes *domestication* as the “processes of making information comprehensible to audiences in a given culture” (2004 p.29), and later as “a process of framing: recognising, defining, selecting and organising news in a way judged to be appropriate for the intended audiences” (2009 p.132). *Domestication* is no doubt consciously re-termed ‘recontextualisation’ in the news translation literature, in part because in a translation studies context ‘domestication’ refers to a particular type of translation strategy (see 2.2.1). Attaching the label *domestication* to the intra-lingual processes that occur alongside translation would therefore only further confuse an already complex picture. The popularity of the term is also tied to the popularity of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as an approach to examining what

changes occur in translation when news is recontextualised across linguistic barriers (see 4.1.1).

As described in the introduction to 2.2.1, in this thesis I use 'acculturation' in place of 'domestication', in part in order to avoid the confusion the terminological overlap might cause. I have however been tempted to follow Bielsa in using 'domestication' in order to exploit the opportunity the overlap presents for raising the profile of translation:

An approach to news transmission as domestication of the foreign can serve as the starting point for synergetic interdisciplinary work that places translation at the centre of the current debate, because the notion of domestication is also used, albeit in a different way, in the discipline of translation studies. (Bielsa, in press)

From the analysis of agency news reports, Bielsa and Bassnett identify five types of "textual intervention" changes as occurring *alongside* inter-lingual translation; the interventions identified in the typology are those that a news story undergoes when it is reported for a new audience, whether that audience speaks a different language or not:

**Change of title and lead:** titles and leads (informative subtitles) are often substituted for new ones so as to better suit the needs of the target reader or the requirements of the target publication.

**Elimination of unnecessary information:** information can become redundant either because it is already known by the target readers or because it becomes too detailed and specific for a reader who is geographically and culturally removed from the reality described.

**Addition of important background information:** when the target readers change it becomes necessary to add background information that will not necessarily be known in the new context.

**Change in the order of paragraphs:** the relevance of the information in a new context and the style of the publication might make it necessary to alter the order of paragraphs.

**Summarising information:** this method is often used to fit the source text into the space available and to reduce lengthy paragraphs which are no longer fully relevant to the target readers. (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.64)

The different types of intra-lingual changes that occur alongside translation have been categorised by researchers in different but overlapping ways. On the basis of a case study of English-Finnish news translation, Hursti categorises these transformations as "deletion, addition, substitution and reorganization" (2001). Kang identifies strategies of "omission, addition, generalization, particularization and re-perspectivization" in an analysis of translations of reporting on North Korea produced by a South Korean news agency (Kang, 2007).

The fact that researchers analysing news reports from different news organisations and in different language pairs have identified the same kinds of transformations (Bani, 2006; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Franjić, 2009; Hursti, 2001; Kang, 2007; Schäffner, 2005) means that we have a relatively clear picture of the general process of recontextualising a news story in a new language for a new market. What typologies such as these risk obscuring, however, is the complex relationship between the two texts being compared in the analysis. In order to be able to assess the kinds of transformations the content of a particular news report has undergone, the researcher must first identify the original text, which, as is discussed below, is far from straightforward given that news translation, as part of a wider editing process, involves the use of multiple sources.

### 2.1.3 Plurality of sources

An aim shared by researchers across the field of news translation is to highlight the integral involvement of translation in the news production process. As shown above, translation processes within the global news agencies are obscured by the fact that translation is not recognised as a separate activity (2.1.1) and by the fact that it occurs alongside other intra-lingual editing practices as part of the complex process of recontextualising the news (2.1.2). A problem faced by the field is that it is very difficult therefore to show, in concrete terms, where exactly in the process translation does occur and what it looks like in the resulting news product (van Doorslaer, 2010b p.183). Translation research, whether process or product oriented, traditionally involves looking at the source text (the original version in the source language) together with the target text (the translated version in the target language)<sup>26</sup>. The difficulty faced by news translation researchers is that when it comes to news translation, this traditional relationship between the source and target text is highly problematized (*ibid* p.182).

In the case of news translation there is generally no single text than can be considered the 'source'; the result of the translation process is not the production of a 'target' text but a 'new' text (Bielsa, 2007; Orengo, 2005 p.143). Davier aptly describes news agency reports as "patchworks of many different sources, many of which were originally in a different language"

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<sup>26</sup> One exception is translation quality assessment which can be approached by analysing the target-text alone (comparing translated texts to non-translated texts for instance) or by measuring the effect of translations on text-receivers. Williams, J. and Chesterman, A. (2002). *The Map: a beginner's guide to doing research in translation studies*. Manchester, St. Jerome.

(2014 p.6). It is not typically the case that news reports produced in one language are wholly translated into the other languages of the agency's newswires; multiple sources are combined in order to produce a report that meets the needs and expectations of the specific target market (Bielsa, 2007 p.145; Wilke & Rosenberger, 1994 p.422).

The use of multiple sources is not restricted to reports produced involving translation; it is a fundamental feature of newswriting (Waugh, 1995 p.158). Although the ideal is for the journalist to use primary sources (van Dijk, 1988 p.86), for instance by interviewing key figures or witnesses and attending press conferences personally, secondary, written sources – “news agency copy, press releases and prior stories on the same topic” – are typically used (Bell, 1991 p.58). The use of multiple sources means that what information, if any, a journalist has gathered and added to a news story themselves becomes “blurred” (*ibid* p.221). Attempting to identify which parts of a news report have been translated results in an equally blurred picture. The ‘double invisibility’ of translation (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.73) described in 2.1.1 above, in addition to obscuring the crucial role played by translation in the news production process, means researchers seeking to highlight the central importance of translation must first demonstrate where exactly and to what extent translation is involved in the particular case they are examining.

The invisibility of translation in the news production *process* means ethnographic approaches involving observing journalists at work may not allow researchers to clarify the picture; van Doorslaer observes that translation is so integrated into the newswriting process that it is indistinguishable as a separate practice (2010a p.181). Translation is equally indistinguishable when looking at the news *product*; the lack of a single source text makes it difficult to distinguish the inter-lingual changes - which are the primary concern of news translation researchers - from the intra-lingual changes that characterise newswriting processes more generally (van Doorslaer, 2009 p.85). Part of the challenge of demonstrating the crucial role played by translation in global news is that it is nonetheless a relatively minor one. Orengo conceives of global news as needing to be “localised” for the target audience, a process involving a series of “editorial stages where the translation part is fundamental for news transmission to be possible, but marginal if viewed against the whole process of making news” (Orengo, 2005 p.170).

It is hardly surprising therefore that news agency journalists do not consider themselves to be translators (2.1.1); they do not perform translation in the traditional sense of producing a target text from a single source text. Rather, the inter-lingual translation of material from multiple sources is one element (albeit an integral one) of a largely intra-lingual process:

In many newsrooms all over the world, translation is not done by translators. But translation forms an integral part of journalistic work: a complex, integrated combination of information gathering, translating, selecting, reinterpreting, contextualizing and editing. (van Doorslaer, 2010b p.181)

The existing research has cast light on the complexities of the newswriting process and the crucial role of translation within it. This thesis aims to cast light on the elements of the newswriting process which always require the journalists to perform the task of translator, namely foreign language quotes and culture-specific terms, in order to clarify and concretise the important role that translation plays in the production of global news.

In this first part of the chapter we have seen how, despite its integral involvement in the news production process, translation is largely invisible within the global news agencies. The next section looks at the acculturating nature of the translation strategies which render translation invisible in the product, the agencies' news reports.

## **2.2 Global news as acculturated news**

As shown in part 2.1.1, global news production is 'doubly invisible'. This thesis recognises the invisibility of translation in the news production process but is primarily concerned with the invisibility of translation in global news products. The following discussion shows how the translator is rendered invisible in translated news as a result of the acculturating translation strategies used by the global agencies. Two concepts central to the discussion, foreignisation and acculturation, are introduced and their somewhat controversial position within translation studies explained (2.2.1). Accounts of the acculturating nature of news translation practices in the literature are then explored (2.2.2). This second part of the chapter closes with a review of the debate over whether news translation, a practice so distinct from traditional conceptions of translation, needs a new name (2.2.3).



### 2.2.1 The foreignisation/acculturation debate

The idea that a translation strategy can either reveal or obscure the foreignness of the source text is well established within translation studies. The prevalence of the terms 'foreignisation' and 'domestication' reflects the significance of Venuti's contribution (1998; 2008); Venuti posits a foreignising translation strategy as an ethical alternative to the norm for domestication in English literary translation. This section presents Venuti's main arguments and the criticisms they have received in order to demonstrate the relevance (and limitations) of the notions of foreignisation and acculturation in news translation research. Although Venuti chiefly refers to 'domestication', this thesis uses the alternative term 'acculturation' in order to avoid confusion with the concept of 'domestication' in the journalism studies literature (see 2.1.2), and because 'acculturation' is considered to more clearly communicate a translation strategy which obscures the foreign source culture.

#### 2.2.1.1 Sending the reader abroad

The notions of a translator either "bringing the author back home" or "sending the reader abroad" are adopted by Venuti in his work on the translator's invisibility (Venuti, 1995/2008 p.15) in order to argue that translations should allow the reader to come into contact with the foreign source culture and language. They originate in Schleiermacher's 1813 essay:

Either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him. These two paths are so very different from one another that one or the other must certainly be followed as strictly as possible, any attempt to combine them being certain to produce a highly unreliable result and carry with it the danger that the writer and reader might miss each other completely. (Schleiermacher, 2006 p.49)

Venuti takes Schleiermacher's ideas further, adding an ideological aspect and naming the two opposing methods of translating 'foreignisation' - leaving the *author* in peace, and 'domestication' [acculturation] - leaving the *reader* in peace. Schleiermacher's preference was for the foreignising method, a preference which Venuti firmly seconds, calling for translators to adopt a foreignising strategy as a form of "resistance" against the "ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism" he equates with the acculturating strategy (Venuti, 1995/2008 p.16).

Venuti's ideas are considered controversial within the field of translation studies. Part of the controversy relates to the language Venuti uses to make his arguments; terms such as those quoted above have been described as "emotive", "provocative and polarizing" (Snell-Hornby, 2006 p.146). Pym's criticism of Venuti's language is that it is difficult to grasp (Pym, 1996 p.166); he mentions as an example his difficulty with the conception of translation as "violence". Criticisms related to Venuti's language, while perhaps fair, should not detract too much attention from the value of the arguments themselves, not least because Venuti appears to be deliberately provocative in presenting his ideas. *Rethinking Translation* (1992), *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995/2008) and *The Scandals of Translation* (1998) are not only academic accounts of translation practices, they are a call to arms to translators to reject fluency - in places worded less provocatively and as a consequence perhaps more effectively than others.

Venuti's arguments relate specifically to the reception of literary translations in Britain and the US; he makes a strongly worded claim about the significance of the preference for fluency in these markets:

The translator's invisibility is symptomatic of a complacency in Anglo-American relations with cultured others, a complacency that can be described - without too much exaggeration - as imperialistic abroad and xenophobic at home. (Venuti, 1995/2008 p.13)

Pym takes issue with Venuti's claim that the translator's invisibility is a uniquely Anglo-American phenomenon, arguing that he overlooks the possibility of the same tendency for fluency in other markets, choosing to focus on the "resistant" theories contributed by non-English scholars, such as Schleiermacher (Pym, 1996 p.171). Pym also highlights the weakness of Venuti's claim that translations represent a very small proportion of the total number of books published worldwide (Venuti, 1995/2008 p.11) by pointing out that in the period Venuti's figures cover, the number of translations published actually increased along with the number of books published.

Baker (2010 p.350) criticises Venuti's contribution for failing to represent the reality of translation; she argues that translators do not select either one method or the other for translating a particular text, but instead make individual choices, some of which might be considered foreignising, and some acculturating. Baker's comments reflect a tendency for Venuti's 'foreignisation' and 'domestication' to be regarded as binary opposites (Munday, 2010

p.224). Venuti counters criticisms related to the dichotomous positioning of the two strategies by stressing in his revised edition of *The Translator's Invisibility* that they “do not establish a neat binary opposition” (Venuti, 1995/2008 p.19). The criticism might also have been addressed to Schleiermacher himself, since his 1813 essay clearly states that the translator must follow one of two “paths” (Schleiermacher, 2006 p.49). Pym levels this criticism at Schleiermacher’s essay in an attempt to understand why it obscures the “middle term, the living translator” (Pym, 1995 p.5). Pym’s motivation in dissecting Schleiermacher’s arguments is to understand why more recent theories (he names only Venuti’s) have developed along the same binary lines (*ibid* pp. 5-6).

The criticisms that have been made of Venuti’s invisibility seem to be directed mainly at the way the arguments are packaged. The ideas themselves do not challenge a translation studies audience since they are not particularly new. Arguments relating to the ethical potential of a translation strategy that exposes rather than obscures the foreignness of the source text are found in Berman’s earlier contribution in French, *L’épreuve de l’étranger* (1984). The terms foreignisation/acculturation have parallels in less controversial dichotomies such as House’s overt/covert translations (1977). House talks about applying a “cultural filter” in order to produce a covert translation (*ibid* p.107), a process of acculturation, in Venuti’s terms. There are also parallels in the categories of *formal* and *dynamic* equivalence formulated by Nida in 1964. Nida describes a dynamically equivalent translation as one that:

aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his own culture; it does not insist that he understand the cultural patterns of the source language context in order to comprehend the message. (Nida, 1964 p.159)

This description could equally well be used to describe an acculturating translation and indeed Venuti himself has referenced this quote in his discussion of the translator’s invisibility, picking out the phrase “naturalness of expression” (Venuti, 1995/2008 p.16) as evidence that Nida is emphasising the importance of fluency in his translation theory.

There are two ideas to which Venuti repeatedly comes back in these three texts that make the foreignisation/acculturation debate directly relevant to this research project. Firstly there is the idea that since translation always involves interpretation, the reader should be aware they are

reading a translation, and therefore an interpretation of the foreign text. Venuti argues that by deliberately obscuring the translator's intervention and "producing the illusion of transparency, a fluent text masquerades as a true semantic equivalent when it in fact inscribes the foreign text with a partial interpretation" (Venuti, 1995/2008 p.16). Secondly there is the aim of challenging the status quo. Venuti describes how "a translation project can deviate from domestic norms to signal the foreignness of the foreign text and create a readership that is more open to linguistic and cultural differences" (Venuti, 1998 p.87). This second point has particular relevance in connection to the cosmopolitan potential of news translation discussed in 2.3.3 and 3.2.3 (and as a theme in the analysis of the reader-response data in Chapter 9).

Bielsa and Bassnett highlight the importance of these arguments and describe Venuti's goal of increasing the visibility of translation a "laudable" one but reject the relevance of the foreignisation/acculturation debate in the field of news translation:

In news translation the dominant strategy is absolute domestication [acculturation], as material is shaped in order to be consumed by the target audience, so has to be tailored to suit their needs and expectations. (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.10)

The debate, I argue, finds relevance in news translation research if we want to challenge rather than accept this status quo. Whilst it is certain that a strategy of *absolute* foreignisation as an alternative to *absolute* acculturation would not be viable for a genre of translation which aims at clear communication, it is possible that some degree of foreignisation might be possible without jeopardising this goal. As described in Chapter 3, it is the aim of this research project to explore this possibility.

### **2.2.2 The acculturated nature of translated news**

Existing research on news translation shows an acculturating strategy to be the norm. Researchers have identified the acculturating strategies used by different news organisations through completing textual analysis of news reports in one language and their source text(s) in another language. As discussed in the following section, the use of an acculturating strategy has been explained by researchers on the basis that it is needed in order to achieve the translation's goal of communicating news information clearly to the audience.

### 2.2.2.1 Acculturation – the norm in news translation

In an examination of the English-language translations of the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*, Schäffner identifies the translation aim to be:

to provide fluent, transparent texts that conform to the expectations and reading habits of the English-speaking addressees. In Venuti's terms, a domesticating [acculturating] translation method is what is called for. (Schäffner, 2005 p.160)

The textual features Schäffner identifies as constituting the acculturating strategy are explication or addition, omission and/or generalisation and specification (*ibid* p.60-61). Explication, a feature typical of acculturated translations, is examined in Gumul's (2010) case study of translations of British and American press articles published in the Polish magazine, *Forum*. Gumul questions if the modifications identified are performed consciously or unconsciously by the translator and recommends that knowledge of the news organisation's translation policy would help to determine this (*ibid* p.109).

The use of acculturating translation strategies is also observed by researchers in news agency reporting. Bielsa and Bassnett perform text analysis on Agence France-Presse news reports in order to examine the strategy used to translate them. Comparing French-language reports with Spanish-language reports about Latin America, they find "the usual modifications of a translation that relies on a domesticating strategy which privileges fluency and transparency and conformance to the expectations of the target reader" (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.101). The authors define the objective of news translation as "to bring a message to the target audience in a clear, concise and totally comprehensible way" (*ibid* p.17), a goal identified through interviews with journalists and editors at Agence France-Presse and Inter Presse Service.

Similarly, García Suárez states that the objective of news translation is to inform (García Suárez, 2005 p.195). Brownlie, examining the strategies employed in the translation of French news reports into English for the British market, observes that news articles are intended for quick consumption and that readers expect to fully understand the content without needing to go beyond the report for contextual information necessary to that understanding (Brownlie, 2010 p.47). Bani, who analyses translations in the weekly Italian news magazine *Internazionale*, also stresses the importance of reading speed and ease (2006 p.37). It is this goal of providing the

reader with news packaged in an easily consumable format that has been used to explain the need for an acculturating strategy in the particular context of news translation.

#### **2.2.2.2 The end (understanding) justifies the means**

One of the aims of this project is to challenge the predominant conclusion in the news translation literature that acculturation is necessary in news translation (Bassnett, 2005; Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Holland, 2013); that readers need the news to be brought “back home”. The concept of ‘bringing the news back home’ is found in the title of an article by Bassnett (2005) - *Bringing the News Back Home: Strategies of Acculturation and Foreignisation*. Although not made explicit in the article itself, the title is a nod to Venuti’s account of the two opposing translation strategies Schleiermacher described; an acculturating strategy having the effect of “bringing the author back home” and a foreignising translation of “sending the reader abroad” (1995/2008 p.15). In this article Bassnett argues that in the context of news translation, “foreignisation is detrimental to understanding” (2005 p.127). Whether or not readers actually need the news to be brought “back home” and whether there is scope for “sending the reader abroad” is something I explore in this research project.

Using the translation of a televised speech by Saddam Hussein in the British newspaper *The Guardian*, Bassnett argues that, in the case of news translation, foreignisation can have the effect of emphasising strangeness and therefore reinforcing the distance between the source and target cultures:

Curiously, given the tendency to acculturation that prevails in news reporting, there is also a convention of deliberately highlighting foreign elements in the speeches of certain political figures, a convention that serves not to make us more aware of what they are saying, but rather to emphasise their strangeness and reinforce the distance that separates the Western world from such figures. (Bassnett, 2005 p.127)

Bassnett provides an extract of the translation, which she describes as being “full of awkward English phrases that are sometimes meaningless (‘victory . . . is at hand having already existed in their chests’), hyperbolic, overblown and often ridiculous” (*ibid*). Bassnett assumes that the translator has *deliberately* followed Arabic rhetoric conventions, a decision which constitutes a foreignising strategy (Bassnett, 2005 p.120), but does not provide any concrete examples to illustrate how the translator has adhered to these source conventions.

It seems distinctly possible that, rather than a deliberate attempt to expose the reader to the foreignness of the speech; the “garbled phrasing” Bassnett describes (2005 p.127) might simply be the result of the translator having failed to render a challenging segment of Arabic speech idiomatically in English. I come to this alternative conclusion for two reasons; firstly, the fact that the addressees of the original speech are the Iraqi people and the addressees of the translation the rest of non-Arabic speaking world makes this is an exceptionally difficult text to translate. Secondly, from my reading at least, the translated speech reads idiomatically in English on the whole<sup>27</sup>. Furthermore, Arabic rhetoric conventions differ considerably from English conventions (Hatim & Mason, 1997 p.117), meaning that if the translator did struggle to move away from the original wording in places where the translation was particularly challenging, the result would easily sound ‘foreign’, without it needing to be the translator’s intention.

Bassnett provides a further example of the detrimental effect of foreignisation; the second instance described is from a Reuters translation of a statement purported to have been made by Al Qaeda claiming responsibility for an attack on the British consulate in Turkey in 2003. Bassnett states that the translation – “The cars of death will not stop” – has the effect of distancing “the producers of the text from Western reality by highlighting their resistance to modernity through the language they chose to use” (Bassnett, 2005 p.128). Whether the translation has the effect of distancing Al Qaeda from the West in the way Bassnett describes is open to debate; what is more certain is that it was not the intention of the Reuters journalist responsible for this translation to create such an effect. It seems likely that the journalist, rather than attempting to produce a foreignising translation, was simply following the guidance set out in Reuters *Handbook* - “give a literal translation if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis” (Reuters, 2014 p.390).

The highly acculturated nature of translated news, in addition to the additional intra-lingual changes and multiplicity of sources involved means the practice of news translation is so

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<sup>27</sup> I was able to find a full version of the speech published by BBC Monitoring Middle East - *Iraqi president says UN inspections carrying out “intelligence work”*, [Unsigned] 6 January, 2003. Retrieved 23.09.2015 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?Inep=hp>. While it is not relevant to the discussion here, I would like to mention the attribution: “The following is the text of a report on the speech in English carried by Iraqi news agency INA web site”. Presumably the speech was not given in English but translated into English by INA; this attribution therefore exemplifies how the translation processes involved in producing news reports are rendered invisible by journalists who do not recognise the role of translation as an individual practice.

distinct from the traditional concept of translation that researchers have questioned whether it should be termed 'translation' at all. This ongoing debate is the subject of the following section.

### **2.2.3 Relabelling news translation**

Examining the translation processes involved in the production of global news has led some scholars to conclude that the practice is so far removed from traditional conceptions of translation that the field of research might need a new name. Bielsa and Bassnett have described the translation carried out within news agencies as "rewriting" (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.57) and, following an examination of the kinds of modifications involved in the translation process conclude that the level of intervention required from the translator changes their traditional role (*ibid* p64).

Similarly, Schäffner and Bassnett have questioned whether the label 'translation' can be applied to the process of news translation when the resulting target text is often very different to the original report. "[I]t is not only possible but it is indeed frequently the case that tens of thousands of words in one language find their way into print in another language as a story of no more than 200 words" (Schäffner & Bassnett, 2010 p.9). The suggestion here is that what happens in the process of news translation is closer to what happens in interpreting since the goal of transaction is prioritised over any goal of equivalence. The comparison to interpreting was earlier drawn by Bassnett, arguing that news translation operates under a different paradigm:

What is more likely is that different textual practices will take place, including summary, paraphrase, addition and subtraction, reshaping in accordance with target culture conventions, rewriting in a particular house style. In other words, what happens to news stories is that they undergo a series of textual transformations, all of which are underpinned by acculturation strategies. (Bassnett, 2005 p.125)

One argument for relabelling news translation is that those responsible for translating the news do not consider themselves to be translators nor the texts they are producing to be translations (Bassnett, 2005 p.124; Davier, 2014 p.9; Wilke & Rosenberger, 1994 p.422). In a study examining translators' strategies for dealing with ideological conflict in news reports translated into Greek, Loupaki begins by arguing that "if we study both product and processes from the point of view of the discipline of Translation Studies, we are justified to call the people involved in the text production 'translators'" (Loupaki, 2010 p.55). However, on the basis of the findings of her study, which suggest that the publication's political position can be linked to the



translator's decision-making, Loupaki came to question whether a new term might be needed to describe the translator's role. Loupaki does not offer any suggestions for a new term but herself describes the process of translating news as "news (re)production", reflecting the translator's ideological intervention and the fact that translated news reports are not identical to their source texts (*ibid* p.72-73).

The closest the field has come to adopting a new label for news translation is 'transediting'. The term was coined by Stetting (1989) as a way to better reflect the level of editing fundamental to the task of translation. Although Stetting uses journalistic texts as one example, she was not referring to the translation of news in particular. The relevance of Stetting's term is debated widely in the news translation literature; some researchers have adopted 'transediting' (Aktan & Nohl, 2010; Conway, 2014; Hernández Guerrero, 2010; Lu & Chen, 2011; van Doorslaer, 2009) and encouraged other researchers to do the same (Hursti, 2001). By drawing attention to the editing decisions involved in producing a translation of a text suited to the needs of a new set of addressees – for instance "whether to remove passages which might be irrelevant in the foreign context" (Stetting, 1989 p.371) – 'transediting' certainly offers a helpful way of thinking about and describing the complex combination of translation and editing processes involved in producing foreign news reports.

In *Translation in Global News* Bielsa and Bassnett reject the "somewhat artificial concept of transediting – the use of which would seem to imply the existence of another form of translating news" (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 pp.63-64). In a more recent article debating the use of the term, Schäffner concludes that while it has the potential to improve understanding of news translation as a distinct genre, adopting 'transediting' would be detrimental to the understanding of the wider practice of translation, which already suffers from being considered a straightforward process of linguistic exchange (Schäffner, 2012a). In the same volume, Floros seconds the argument for the continued use of news translation (Floros, 2012) over the adoption of 'transediting' on the basis that as well as the translation that occurs when a news report is translated for a new market, described by Floros as "translated news production", translation is also involved in producing original foreign news reporting, he gives the translation of foreign language quotes as an example (*ibid* p.926).

It could be argued that translation scholars wanting to highlight the role of translation in news production might find attaching a label which better fits with journalists' view of the role of translation in the news production process more effective. Certainly the 'doubly invisible' (see 2.1.1) nature of news translation makes it difficult to attribute the status of translation to the practice. I can also see the value in relabelling the practice in terms of promoting research in the field; just as happened with the identification of translation studies as a field of research (Bassnett, 2002 pp.1-2), giving news translation a name would mean recognising it as a subject warranting researching and theorising in its own right. However, to remove the name 'translation' would to some extent be to accept the invisibility of news translation. More important than recognising how news translation is not the same as translation, we need to promote awareness that it is translation, by name and by nature.

### **2.3 Translating global news – potentials and limitations**

The first two parts of this chapter have shown the particularities and complexities of news translation; the characteristics which distinguish the practice from other forms of translation. In the discussion immediately above I join other researchers in arguing for the continued use of the label 'translation' to describe the practice of translating the news, on the basis that doing otherwise would only further obscure the central role translation plays in the production of foreign news. In this final part I highlight how fundamental translation is to foreign news production by showing where and how translation necessarily occurs in the process of disseminating news across the globe. Two important features of the journalist-translator's task are presented, the translation of reported speech (2.3.1) and the mediation of culture (2.3.2). Finally, the concept of cosmopolitanism, and the potential for news translation to engender cosmopolitan openness, is explored (2.3.3).

#### **2.3.1 Reporting by (translated) quotation**

The translation of quotation in news agency reporting is a particular focus of this research project; this focus is motivated by the fact that news agency content is dominated by reported speech (see 1.3) and is widely reproduced (see 1.1), meaning that when a news event originates in a locale where the language spoken is different to the language of the target audience, interpretations of news events are largely shaped by the way in which news agency journalists translate quotations. The discussion that follows highlights the significance of the

inevitable presence of the journalist-translator's voice in translated speech (Hermans, 1996), and therefore the impact of a translation strategy that "paper[s] over the cracks and leave[s] the reader unaware of the other voice" (*ibid*).

Looking at the translations of a controversial comment in a 2005 speech by President Ahmadinejad, Schäffner finds that one particular translation, despite its accuracy being debated at the time, is used most often. Schäffner observes from this analysis how a translation of a quote, once it has entered the media system, becomes fixed and accepted as what was said (Schäffner, 2010 p.271). Similarly, Holland observes the "unanimity" of reporting in the British press on a statement by the President of Indonesia in 1999; the role of the global agencies as news information providers is raised as a possible factor (2006 p.248).

As discussed in 1.3, quotation, and direct quotation in particular, is valued by journalists for the accuracy and objectivity it brings to reporting. Waugh however stresses that the speaker's voice is always "filtered and thereby changed in various ways" and draws attention to the "pitfalls that translation brings" (Waugh, 1995 p.156). Within the field of translation studies it is universally accepted "that translations are never fully homologous to the original - always containing shifts, errors, and subjective interpretations" (Gentzler & Tymoczko, 2002 p. xvi). Scholars working in the area of news translation have drawn attention to the fact that the accuracy and objectivity of reported speech is fundamentally undermined by the translation process:

Many broadcast (and print) journalists may genuinely aspire to impartiality but, given the inevitable 'gain' and 'loss' that is involved in any translation, translators are constantly forced to make decisions about what to 'lose' and what to 'gain' in the attempt to convey a message across languages and cultures – decisions that can only be made on their own (ultimately subjective) experience. (Holland, 2013 p.342)

Conway makes the point that journalistic claims to objectivity imply an "unmediated representation of otherness" which is not possible when news information undergoes a process of translation, resulting in what he describes as a "slippage" (Conway, 2006 p.51). Holland further highlights that journalists may be unaware of this "slippage":

there is a certain amount of linguistic naivety on the part of the media organizations, concerning the problematic nature of translation as an intercultural activity and it's vexed relationship with idealized concepts like 'accuracy', 'objectivity' and 'impartiality'. (Holland, 2013 pp.342-3)

Holland uses as an example the way a controversial comment the Iranian President, Mahmood Ahmadinejad made in 2010 about a UN sanction package was reported on BBC Radio 4 to show how translation problematizes the accuracy, objectivity and impartiality attached to the use of direct quotation. To begin with, the report gave two possible translations for the quote, one which reported the president to have described the sanction as a “used handkerchief” and one as a “used tissue”. Providing two possible translations helps indicate to the audience that these words are the closest translations available for something that was uttered in a foreign language, but later on in the programme President Ahmadinejad is reported to have said the sanctions should be “thrown in the bin, like a used handkerchief” (Holland, 2013 p.332). Given the BBC's reputation for neutrality and the fact that the report begins by offering two different translations, this example illustrates how easily (and unintentionally) politicians' words can be transformed, and fixed, in translation.

As well as drawing attention to the fact that accuracy is undermined by the translation process, scholars from within translation studies have also highlighted how the journalistic ideal of objectivity is problematized when it comes to reporting speech in translation. A significant contribution to existing news translation research has been made in Spanish, in particular in the edited volume *La traducción periodística* (Cortés Zaborras & Hernández Guerrero, 2005). An important concept to come out of this body of research is “doble mediación” (double mediation), used by researchers to describe the secondary mediation process which occurs when news is translated (Hernández Guerrero, 2008; Hernando, 1999).

The first stage of mediation is common to all newswriting, the journalist decides what information to include and what to leave out and how to package that information for the reader.

The second stage of mediation occurs when translation is involved. Hernando explains:

El hecho es que en los periódicos aparecen muchos textos traducidos de otros idiomas, en la mayor parte de los casos sin nombre del traductor. Si la información periodística es una mediación entre los hechos y los receptores, tal mediación resulta doble en el caso de los textos traducidos. [*The fact is that many texts which appear in newspapers have been translated from other languages, in most cases without the name of the translator. If newswriting is mediation between facts and receivers, this becomes a process of double mediation in the case of translated texts*]. (Hernando, 1999 p.130, my translation)

Hernando highlights that the majority of news reports released onto the newswires of the global news agencies are in fact translated texts and therefore the result of what he describes as the “dangerous” secondary mediation process – dangerous because the translator’s name is not given and because of the potential for public opinion to be “adulterado” (adulterated) as a result of even minor translation errors (*ibid* 135-6).

There are parallels in Valdeón’s observation (writing in English) that journalists perform a two-fold mediatory role; primarily their role is to communicate news events to their audience but this often involves translation, which in itself involves carrying out “interlingual transformative acts of different kinds” (Valdeón, 2007 p.100). Károly similarly observes “two distinct levels” of mediation, the first intra-lingual, the second inter-lingual (and inter-cultural) (Károly, 2010 p.886). In addition to mediating reported speech, agency journalists must also make decisions about how to make culture-specific information intelligible to the target culture in the target language. As such the journalist performs the role of cultural mediator; it is this role which is the subject of the following discussion.

### **2.3.2 Journalist-translators as cultural mediators**

The very existence of a global news system is symptomatic of the fact that we live in a globalised world; as global citizens, events that occur in remote places impact our day-to-day lives, meaning there is a demand for news from every corner of the globe. That demand is met by the global agencies who publish multiple versions of a news story in the languages of their newswires. Bielsa highlights how globalisation “has placed translation in a unique position as a key mediator of intercultural communication” (Bielsa, 2012 p.17), a role which has thus far been overlooked by researchers outside of translation studies:

In approaches to processes of globalisation, more attention has been devoted to the increased circulation of information, ideas, goods and people than to the productive conditions that make it possible. This has led to assuming that global texts can automatically be received by audiences and to obscuring the crucial intervention of translation in the production of a multiplicity of local versions. (Bielsa, 2010 p.167)

The idea of translation as intercultural communication is well-established in modern translation theory (Katan, 2009; Munday, 2012 p.87) and has formed the basis of important ethical arguments surrounding the principles of ‘fidelity’ to the source text and ‘loyalty’ to both the source text author and target text reader (Nord, 1991). Translation is a process of negotiating

the differences between two languages and cultures and it is left to the translator to decide what should be lost and what gained in this process (Holland, 2013 p.342).

In the case of news translation, the role the journalist-translator performs as inter-cultural communicator becomes particularly relevant. Foreign news reporting always involves negotiating cultural difference, whether the news information crosses linguistic barriers or not. In addition to language skills, the journalist-translator must have the cultural knowledge needed to interpret a news event that occurs in a foreign cultural context. They must also understand what source-culture knowledge their audience can be expected to possess in order to know what information will be understood, and in what terms. In this sense, they act as cultural mediators (Bielsa, 2009; in press; Conway, 2010).

There is recognition of the journalist's role as cultural mediator in the journalism studies literature too. Williams describes how "foreign correspondents continually have to make the unfamiliar familiar to their audiences" (2011 p.27) and Beliveau et al. describe foreign correspondents as having to "negotiate information gaps between different cultural contexts and communication systems" (2011 p.136). Both the aforementioned references contain the notion of bridging a cultural gap, a popular metaphor for the translator's task within translation studies, and recognise the involvement of translation in the process of mediating between cultures. Williams stresses that translation, by virtue of the fact that so much news information is translated, "has implications for how readers, viewers and listeners around the world understand what is happening and the meaning of events" (2011 p.27). In an interview Filmer conducted with Bill Emmot, the former Editor-in-Chief for *The Economist*, Emmot states that even when translation is not involved, "the journalist is nevertheless an interpreter" but that inter-lingual translation, "obviously adds another layer" (Filmer, 2014 p.331).

Awareness within the journalism studies literature of the potential for news information to be shaped by translation, though limited, is a boon to translation scholars endeavouring to draw attention to the implications of mediating cultural information across linguistic barriers; of the decisions journalists make about how to describe cultural realities and of the inevitable loss which, as a result of acculturating translation practices, goes unnoticed by the reader. Conway

(2010) highlights that in bringing “their viewers, listeners, and readers into contact with people they might not otherwise come to know” journalists face certain “shortcomings”:

The task facing journalists, like the task facing scholars, is to find ways to identify and signal those shortcomings. The consumers of news translation (and its academic counterparts) might not be able to overcome them, but they will at least be able to take them into account. (*ibid* p.203)

It is the aim of this research project to explore the scope for foreignising news translation, as a way of signalling the journalist’s intervention in the translated news information. The changes developed in this project to foreignise the translation strategies of the global news agencies are also motivated by the belief that it is by means of a foreignising approach that we can maximise the potential of news translation as a tool of cross-cultural engagement and understanding. In the third and final part of the chapter I introduce the concept of cosmopolitanism, which I borrow from social theory in order to conceptualise the potential of translation as a tool of intercultural exchange.

### **2.3.3 The cosmopolitan potential of translation in the news**

Translation involves crossing linguistic, geographical and political spaces. The resulting encounters with the ‘other’ should lead to new modes of thinking, feeling, and experiencing the world. (Schäffner, 2005 p.165)

The above statement comes in the conclusion of an article investigating the translations the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* publishes on its English-language website. In this article Schäffner is interested in the potential for readers to gain access, through translation, to views and opinions held by individuals or groups in different countries who speak a language that is foreign to them. The potential Schäffner describes for “new modes of thinking, feeling, and experiencing the world” is arguably only made possible by a foreignising translation strategy which exposes rather than obscures the ‘other’ (Bielsa, 2014 p.6; in press). Schäffner’s statement has echoes of the cosmopolitan ideal which Bielsa advocates in the context of news translation (Bielsa, 2010; 2012; 2014).

*Cosmopolitanism*, which has its home in social theory, dates back to Greek antiquity (Bielsa, 2010 p.161) but has recently experienced a resurgence in the form of *new cosmopolitanism* (*ibid* p.162). New cosmopolitanism addresses the need to take the world, rather than individual nations (as earlier approaches had done) as the object of study, in order to tackle “the major

social transformations currently taking place under the register of globalisation" (Fine, 2007 p.5). Cosmopolitanism is not seen as something which either occurs or does not, but as something that exists in societies to varying degrees (Delanty, 2012; Roudometof, 2005). In a globalised world, a cosmopolitan outlook is preconditioned by the need to engage with people in distant places; according to Beck, we are already living in a cosmopolitan world (2006).

Following Cronin's introduction of the concept to translation studies (Cronin, 2006), Bielsa's efforts to connect cosmopolitan social theory and translation theory constitute the only other application of the concept within the field thus far (Bielsa, 2010; 2012; 2014; in press). Adopting the concept represents something of a challenge for the translation studies scholar for a number of reasons. First of all, the fact that it is applied prescriptively as well as descriptively (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002) means it is likely to encounter resistance in a field which tends to favour descriptive research (Chesterman, 1998; Toury, 2012). In a critical account of cosmopolitanism, Roudometof (2005 p.67) points to the lack of a clear distinction in the literature between the "ethical or moral goal" of a cosmopolitan society and the measurement and observation of a cosmopolitanism reality. The separation of the prescriptive and descriptive he advocates (*ibid* p.71) has since arrived in the form of empirical studies which aim to describe what the cosmopolitan reality *is* rather than what it *should* be (Robertson, 2010 p.11).

Further challenges come in the form of the concept's long history and the fact that it also appears to lack a clear definition, seemingly because it has been applied in a variety of ways to address a variety of global issues, it has, in Robertson's words, "meant different things in different contexts" (2010 p.3). One definition of cosmopolitanism, which in itself reflects the broadness of the term, is offered by Delanty:

In the broadest sense possible, cosmopolitanism is about the extension of the moral and political horizons of people, societies, organizations and institutions. It implies an attitude of openness as opposed to closure. (Delanty, 2012 p.2)

For Szerszynski and Urry cosmopolitanism is, "a cultural disposition involving an intellectual and aesthetic stance of 'openness' towards peoples, places and experiences from different cultures" (2002 p.468). The authors reference Hannerz, who takes cosmopolitanism to be, "first of all an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other" but also "a matter of competence" (1996 p.203). According to Hannerz, cosmopolitans are both willing and able to engage with the 'other'



(Robertson, 2012 p.180). Szerszynski and Urry credit Hannerz with emphasising “the importance of ‘openness’ and of the way that cosmopolitanism may generate new forms of critical knowledge” (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002 p.468).

The idea of openness to the ‘other’ certainly seems to be central to uses of the term, including Bielsa’s application of cosmopolitanism to translation. Bielsa argues that translation has the potential to be a site of cosmopolitan openness, but only when the translation exposes the reader to the foreignness of the cultural source:

A naïve appeal to translation can only falsify the fact that it can also be used to abolish the foreign, to render it falsely familiar, and thus contribute to flattening the earth. Whether translation can serve really to build bridges across languages and cultures depends on the strategies followed, on the avoidance of transparent translations and on a type of translation that reveals rather than obscures the foreign as foreign. (Bielsa, 2010 p.172)

Drawing on Venuti (1998; 1995/2008), Bielsa argues that a domesticating translation, “by rendering the foreign falsely familiar and translation transparent, in fact denies any true openness to the other as other and thus any genuine cosmopolitan commitment” (Bielsa, 2014 p.6). While Bielsa seems to support Venuti’s claim that a foreignising translation strategy is the more ethical choice, she also highlights the inherent struggle in translation between making a text emanating from one culture intelligible to another and respecting the foreignness that naturally resides in the original text (*ibid* p.5).

The concept of cosmopolitanism is adopted in this thesis as a valuable tool for investigating whether introducing a degree of foreignisation into the global news agencies’ current translation strategies could allow the reader greater access to the foreign reality being described, thereby encouraging engagement and deepening understanding of the cultural other. The application of cosmopolitanism as a key concept in this thesis is detailed in 3.2.3.

## **Chapter 3**

### **The research project**

In this first part of this chapter I introduce the research aims, questions and design, and provide an overview of the methods used (3.1). In the second part I introduce three concepts which are central to the research and clarify their usage in the thesis (3.2). In the third and final part of the chapter I describe the case study used to conduct the investigation and explain the significance of particular quotations and culture-specific terms which feature frequently in the corpus and analysis (3.3).

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This research project investigates what scope there might be for foreignising the way news is translated. As demonstrated in Chapter 1, much of the foreign news that circulates in print and online is produced by the 'Big three' global news agencies, Reuters, Associated Press and Agence France-Presse. The translation strategies used by these agencies therefore have a significant impact on the way news events and their foreign cultural contexts are reported and understood. It is thus the translation strategies of the global news agencies that are the focus of this research. In order to find out whether a foreignised approach to news translation could work in practice, I ask whether a foreignised approach could work for the global news agencies. It is, after all, the news agencies that produce most of the foreign news that circulates in the global news system and therefore who do most of the foreign news translating. In part 3.1.1 I outline the aims of the research project. In part 3.1.2 I present the research questions, and in part 3.1.3 I describe the three stages of research in which these research questions are addressed.

##### **3.1.1 Aims**

News translation research, like much translation research, is interdisciplinary in nature, crossing over into journalism, media and communication studies. The research published to date has responded to the fact that these fields have overlooked the crucial involvement of translation in the production of foreign news. In order to demonstrate the complex yet central role played by translation when news information crosses linguistic barriers, researchers have focused on the kinds of transformations that occur alongside translation in the news production process (Schäffner, 2012b pp.118-119). Researchers have also highlighted the acculturating nature of

the translation strategies used in newsrooms generally, as well as in the particular case of the news agencies (as shown in 2.2.2). The dominance of acculturating strategies has been explained on the basis that news information needs to be clearly communicated to the reader.

In this thesis I examine whether there might be scope for introducing a degree of foreignisation into the way news is translated by the global news agencies. The aim of foreignising the way news is translated is to increase readers' awareness of the translation process and the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness (see 2.3.3). I ask whether, rather than communicating news information in purely target culture terms, it is possible to allow the reader to come into contact with foreign language and cultural concepts, without having a negative impact on reading ease. I further aim to clarify what elements of a news report are translated when a news story crosses linguistic barriers, something which the existing literature, by focusing on how translation is bound up in and obscured by complex intra-lingual editing practices, has not made clear. I aim to concretise the involvement of translation in this process, by showing what parts of the global agencies' news reports necessarily involve translation, and in doing so, demonstrate how and why the invisible involvement of translation in the news production process is problematic.

In order to answer the research questions set out in this thesis I use a reader-response methodology, an approach which is lacking in translation studies generally. The research project can be described as a 'reception study'. In an entry entitled *Reception and translation* in the Benjamin's *Handbook of Translation Studies* (Brems & Ramos Pinto, 2013), Brems and Pinto describe two types of reception study within translation studies. The first type "looks at the reception of translations at a social level and focuses on 'theoretical readers'" (*ibid*). The current study neatly fits the description of the second type, termed 'reader response and assessment':

this second perspective "focuses on the 'real reader' and how specific translation strategies affect readers' response and assessment. Researchers try to answer questions related to (a) the cognitive processes invoked at the moment of reception of translated material; (b) the effect of specific contextual, sociological, technical or linguistic aspects on reception; and (c) the readers' assessment of particular translation strategies (*ibid*).

To date, to my knowledge, no research has been published which explores the impact of translated news on readers by looking at the response of the readers themselves, and few

studies have been published which use a reader-response methodology to investigate translation at all (see 4.1). Addressing this methodological gap was not an initial aim of the research; I was not conscious of the absence of reader-based research across the field at the outset of this project, nor the methodological challenge this would present. The inclusion of a stage examining how readers respond to a degree of foreignisation in translated news information is imperative to the aims of the research. The analyses of the focus group data are exploratory, and I do not attempt to draw strong conclusions from the reader-response investigation, but by experimenting with a method that is uncommon in translation studies, I hope to have made an important methodological contribution to the field.

### 3.1.2 Research questions

The project seeks to answer the following questions:

RQ1: In what ways and to what degree are the translation strategies currently employed by the global news agencies acculturating?

RQ2: What changes could be made to foreignise the translation strategies currently employed by the global news agencies?

RQ3: What might be the impact of the proposed strategy changes on

A: ... the reader's awareness of the translation process?

B: ... reading ease?

C: ... the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness?

Research question 1 (RQ1), does *not* ask *if* the translation strategies currently employed by the global news agencies are acculturating; it is formulated on the assumption that this is the case, a finding which is well documented in the news translation literature (as shown in 2.2.2). Instead, RQ1 asks *in what ways* and *to what degree* the translation strategies currently employed by the global news agencies are acculturating, with the aim of clarifying what acculturating news translation strategies look like at the micro-level and to what degree the strategies used by the global agencies are acculturating in nature. Since Reuters is used as a case study in this research, RQ1 is answered through textual analysis of Reuters news reports and the Reuters *Handbook of Journalism*. The framework used for the analysis of the Reuters

corpus is described briefly in 3.1.3.1 and detailed in Chapter 5, where the analysis is also presented, and what is meant by translation strategy in the particular case of the news agencies explained.

On the basis of the findings of RQ1, research question 2 (RQ2) asks what changes could be made to foreignise the translation strategies currently employed by the global news agencies. In this second stage of the research, a set of changes are developed and implemented on the corpus of Reuters reports in order for the impact of the changes on readers to be investigated (RQ3). The nature of the foreignisation sought is detailed in 3.2.1 and the changes themselves presented in Chapter 6, along with the rationale behind each of these changes. A brief overview of the process of developing the foreignised strategy is given in 3.1.3.2.

Research question 3 (RQ3) asks what might be the impact of the proposed changes on readers. A reader-response methodology is used to answer this question. Increasing readers' awareness of the translation process involved in the production of global news reports, and the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness, without impacting negatively on reading ease, constitutes the overarching aim of the research. The reader-response investigation therefore has three points of focus, indications of awareness of the translation process, reading ease and cosmopolitan openness. The possible impact of the changes on readers' awareness of the translation process is examined in Chapter 7, on reading ease in Chapter 8, and on cosmopolitan openness in Chapter 9. An overview of the reader-response method is given in 3.1.3.3 and detailed in full in 4.2.

### **3.1.3 Research design**

This research project was conducted in three stages corresponding to the three research questions. In the first stage the first research question was answered - in what ways and to what degree are the translation strategies currently employed by the global news agencies acculturating? In the second stage the second question was answered - what changes could be made to foreignise the translation strategies currently employed by the global news agencies? Having addressed RQ1 and RQ2 and arrived at a proposed set of changes, in the third stage the impact of these changes was explored (RQ3). A Reuters case study (detailed in 3.3) was used as a basis for the investigations conducted at each stage of the research project; for the

purposes of the current discussion it suffices to explain that a corpus of Reuters reports on news from France about Sarkozy's social politics was selected for use in each of the three stages of the research described below.

#### **3.1.3.1 Stage 1 – Looking at current translation practice**

In this first stage of the research, the Reuters corpus was analysed in order to assess in what ways and to what degree the translation strategies currently employed by Reuters journalists are acculturating. Pedersen's typology of strategies for rendering culture-specific terms (Pedersen, 2005) was used as a framework for the analysis presented in section 5.3.1 (the rationale for using Pedersen's model is described in 5.2). In complement to the analysis of the Reuters corpus, the Reuters *Handbook of Journalism* was analysed in order to assess what translation strategies are set out in Reuters' institutional guidelines on newswriting practice.

#### **3.1.3.2 Stage 2 – Developing a set of changes to foreignise global news translation**

Having identified the points in the Reuters reports where a translation strategy has been applied (i.e. where translation has been performed), and assessed the strategies used in terms of how acculturating (or foreignising) they are, ways of foreignising the strategies used were considered in order to arrive at a set of changes which (ostensibly) work at each of the points of the corpus where that change would need to be implemented. The decisions made with regard to these changes were informed not only by the strategies currently employed by Reuters, seen in the corpus and set out in the Reuters *Handbook of Journalism*, but also by foreignising strategies identified in the mainstream British press. Having arrived at a set of changes, I then implemented these on the Reuters corpus by applying the relevant strategy change at each part of the reports identified as having been translated. This process resulted in a second, *foreignised*, corpus of Reuters reports.

#### **3.1.3.3 Stage 3 – Exploring the possible impact of the changes**

The third stage of the investigation involved a comparative, task-based focus group method. Three sets of two focus groups were conducted; each set comprising an ORIGINAL group who are given the original Reuters reports to read, and a FOREIGNISED group who were given the foreignised reports to read. The first of the three sets of focus groups was conducted as a pilot study, in order to assess whether the method would allow me to answer my research questions.

The pilot study was successful and no changes were made to the focus group method itself before completing the main study. The response of the pilot study participants who read the foreignised reports did however lead me to increase the degree of foreignisation involved in one of the changes (regarding the use of foreign language in headlines). This decision is detailed in section 6.2.2. The focus group method itself, as well as the rationale for using a focus group method, is discussed in detail in 4.2.

### **3.2 Key concepts**

Central to the research questions are the concepts of foreignisation, reading ease and cosmopolitanism; these concepts are discussed in turn below. Two of these concepts, foreignisation and cosmopolitanism, have been introduced earlier in the thesis and are reintroduced here as key concepts, in order to elucidate their role and application in this thesis.

#### **3.2.1 Foreignisation**

The acculturated nature of foreign news reporting has been explained by researchers on the basis that the aim of clear and easily comprehensible reporting is paramount (see 2.2.2). A foreignising strategy is considered an unviable alternative for news translation since it would be “detrimental to understanding” (Bassnett, 2005 p.127). Since the aim of this research project is to explore what scope there is for foreignising the global news agencies translation strategies, it is important to clarify the kind of foreignisation sought. In this thesis I borrow Venuti’s terms but, like others before me (Kwieciński, 2001; Pedersen, 2005), I treat foreignisation and acculturation as two ends of a scale rather than as binary opposites and investigate whether it might be possible to introduce a *degree* of foreignisation into the translation strategies used by global news agencies.

For Venuti, a foreignising strategy is one which retains foreign elements in the translated text, indicating to the reader that they are reading a translation and allowing them to encounter the foreign culture and language. Retaining foreign elements might involve, among other practices, adhering to source culture conventions and sticking closely to the syntax of the foreign language, resulting in a translation which does not read naturally in the target language. The changes to foreignise the global news agencies’ translation strategies explored in this thesis aim to increase the visibility of the translation process and allow readers to come into contact

with the foreign source culture and language *without* resulting in a non-fluent text. Rather than explore the impact of a translation strategy that sticks closely to the original language in form, it is taken as a foregone conclusion that such a strategy would jeopardise the goal of clear communication.

### 3.2.2 Reading ease

Examining the impact of foreignised global news translation on 'reading ease' is both essential to and problematic for the investigation. It is essential because, as researchers have commented, news information must be clearly communicated to readers, without the need to look beyond the news report to understand the details. It is the importance of clear and concise communication that has led researchers to conclude that acculturating translation strategies are needed when it comes to translating the news. In order to challenge this conclusion, and explore whether there is scope for a degree of foreignisation, I must therefore investigate whether the changes I propose to foreignise the translation strategies of the global news agencies might have a negative impact on readers' ability to understand the information being communicated through the translation.

Looking at the impact of foreignisation on readers' ability to understand translated news information is problematic because doing so raises important questions regarding what 'understanding' means and how it can be measured. When designing the reader-response methodology I considered these questions, the merits of different conceptions of understanding (comprehension, readability etc.) and the different ways of approaching their measurement. Conversations I had with professors and students at the 2014 CETRA summer school were particularly valuable in helping me to critically evaluate my reader-response method and what I could hope to measure<sup>28</sup>. These conversations, as well as those had with my supervisors and colleagues in my department at King's College London led me to an important conclusion; I neither could nor wished to *measure* the impact of the changes I am proposing. What I can do, and what my third research question sets out to do, is to explore what impact the changes might have on 'reading ease'.

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<sup>28</sup> I am grateful in particular for the input of Professor Yves Gambier and Dr Sara Ramos Pinto, both of whom were generous with their time and expertise with regard to reader-response methodologies in translation studies.



The term 'reading ease' is chosen in part for its lack of empirical associations, and in part because it extends beyond 'comprehension' or 'understanding' to encapsulate the sense of reading 'enjoyment' or 'comfort'. It is not only important to journalists and editors that translated news information be easy to read, it should also be enjoyable to read (Bani, 2006 p.44). By asking what impact the changes to foreignise global news reporting might have on reading ease, and approaching the data collection and analysis in this way, I avoid the need to fix my attention on a single unit of measurement and instead can allow indications of what I loosely describe as 'reading ease' to emerge from the data.

### **3.2.3 Cosmopolitanism**

The concept of cosmopolitanism is described in 2.3.3; the aim of the current discussion is to clarify the role and application of the idea of cosmopolitan openness in this research project. Cosmopolitanism did not feature in the original research proposal; it has been adopted in order to give much needed shape to some of the ideas motivating the research being conducted. The connection behind these ideas and the concept of cosmopolitanism was not made right away, but discovered after hearing Esperança Bielsa speak about cosmopolitanism in relation to news translation at the University of Manchester<sup>29</sup>.

This research project is motivated by the idea that news translation as a tool of intercultural communication has the potential to facilitate cross-cultural understanding and engagement by allowing readers of the news to come into contact with foreign cultural concepts and language, exposing rather than obscuring cultural and linguistic difference. It is, I believe, a broadly similar idea that Bielsa articulates in her application of the sociological concept of cosmopolitanism to the case of news translation. Bielsa argues that it is only through foreignising strategies that translation can be a site of cosmopolitan openness in global news (2010; 2014; in press). As I describe in the discussion of cosmopolitanism in section 2.3.3, I have been wary of adopting a concept which is new to me, lacking clear definition and largely unknown in translation studies. I have been especially cautious about applying the concept in the analysis of the focus group data. It was, however, the experience of conducting the focus groups that convinced me of the value of doing so.

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<sup>29</sup> *News Translation: Global or Cosmopolitan Connections* (lecture at the University of Manchester on 6 February 2014).

One of the reasons for choosing a focus group method to investigate the impact of foreignising the translation strategies of the global news agencies was the fact that it meant I did not need to fully predetermine the focus of the data collection and analysis. While I did set out to examine the impact of the changes I had made to foreignise the Reuters reports on translation awareness and reading ease, I was only loosely interested in the possible impact on what I now conceive of as cosmopolitan openness. It was through conducting the focus groups, and the comments of two participants in particular, that I was able to identify the real-world application of my ideas regarding the potential for translation as a tool of intercultural communication, now conceptualised in this thesis as the potential for cosmopolitan openness. For a more detailed discussion of cosmopolitanism see 2.3.3 and the references pointed to there. Indications of cosmopolitan openness in the focus group data are explored in Chapter 9.

### **3.3 The research case**

In this third and final section of the current chapter I discuss the particular case of news translation examined - the translation strategies used by Reuters in reporting on news from France – and explain why the translation of quotation and culture-specific terms are the main focus of the investigation. In 3.3.1 I present the rationale for selecting Reuters as the case study and describe the content and compilation of the Reuters corpus selected for the investigation. In 3.3.2 I provide context on what Sarkozy said in the Paris *banlieue* in 2005, which is reported widely, as in the corpus, to have sparked subsequent rioting in France. In 3.3.3 I introduce the culture-specific term *banlieue* itself, which also features regularly in the case study corpus. In both these discussions I aim to demonstrate how translating quotation and culture-specific terms in global news reporting can be problematic, and hence the importance of readers being aware of the translation process and the secondary level of mediation it involves.

#### **3.3.1 The Reuters case study and corpus**

This research project is interested in the scope for foreignising the way news is translated generally. Since so much of the foreign news that circulates in the global news system is produced by the 'Big three' global agencies, and it is therefore these agencies who do the most translation of foreign news information, I ask whether a foreignised approach to translation could work for the global agencies. In order to operationalise the research questions outlined in

3.1.2, a case study is developed. The purpose of the case study is to focus the research, to ground the investigation in a real-world context and to provide a corpus of news reports with which to conduct the three stages of research described in 3.1.3. The rationale behind selecting Reuters as the news agency, French as the source news language and Sarkozy's social politics as the subject matter is detailed below.

Reuters was selected for the case study on the basis of the following considerations:

- Reuters is the biggest of the 'Big three' news agencies in terms of size, clients and international presence. Its news reporting is read by tens of millions of people worldwide; in 2004 the figure was 74 million people every month (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 2004 p.37)
- The figures available suggest that Reuters is the agency which carries out the most translation; it publishes over eight million words daily in six languages (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.48).
- Although Reuters considers itself to be a 'stateless' news agency, it was originally founded in the UK and tends to be regarded as the British agency, in the way that AFP is regarded as the French agency and AP the North American agency (Boyd-Barrett, 1998 p.19). Since the news agencies' most important markets are at home (*ibid* p.30), the response of readers in the UK is likely to be of most interest to Reuters.
- Content produced by Reuters and AP dominates the international news read by users online (Paterson, 2007 p.57)<sup>30</sup>. Whereas AP produces news reporting exclusively for subscribers, Reuters has broken away from the traditional news agency role of supplying news to its subscribers and additionally provides news direct to readers on its websites (Paterson, 2010 p.228) and identifies "the broader public – curious people who get news on Reuters.com and mobile devices" as part of its audience (Reuters, 2014 p.101). As well as being potential users of its clients' news services, the participants in my study are potential visitors to the Reuters website; the responses of these readers should therefore be of particular interest to Reuters.

Since I am a native English speaker and qualified French to English translator researching in a British context it was a logical decision to use news from France and a British audience as the

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<sup>30</sup> Despite having used predominantly US data, Paterson states that the results of his research reflect international trends.

case study. Reporting on Sarkozy's social politics offers a rich case for exploring the translation of quotation and culture-specific terms, since both elements naturally feature heavily in the corpus of reports. News reports centring on quotes uttered by Sarkozy in particular is considered to offer a strong case study because as both interior minister and president of France Nicolas Sarkozy expressed controversial views and followed what was seen (and reported) as a tough line on social issues; what Sarkozy said was newsworthy not only because of the inflammatory language he used and the right-wing views he was expressing, but because he was (or was campaigning to be) the leader of a very powerful European country.

What Sarkozy said in the lead-up to the 2005 French riots is a particular feature of the case study because it was reporting of Sarkozy's words (in translation) in the British press that first sparked my interest in the role of translation in global news production. Two things in particular struck me: first of all that no indication was given to the British reader that they were reading a translation, and therefore a mediated interpretation of what Sarkozy had said in French. Secondly, that by translating the culture-specific term *banlieue* as 'suburbs', without communicating any of the cultural-specific meaning attached to the French term, journalists failed to equip their readers with the cultural knowledge needed to understand the news event within the specific French context. The case of what Sarkozy said in 2005 provides a helpful basis for considering how introducing a degree of foreignisation into the way news is translated could have the potential to increase readers' awareness of the translation process and engagement with the foreign cultural context.

Full access to the news reports released on the Reuters newswire is available through the Factiva Database. I searched for English news reports by specifying the following criteria:

<b>Date range</b>	June 2005 – June 2012 (the period covering Sarkozy's second term as interior minister, 2007 presidential campaign and presidency)
<b>Text</b>	Searches completed using: Sarkozy AND immigration; Sarkozy AND suburbs; Sarkozy AND youths; Sarkozy AND suburbs AND youths; Sarkozy AND riots
<b>Source</b>	Reuters News
<b>Language</b>	English

**Table 4 - Factiva search criteria for collecting reports**

The text search terms were chosen for their likelihood of generating news reports relating to Sarkozy's social politics and in particular reports which include what Sarkozy said in 2005,

either as the focus of the news report or as background in reporting on a different news event.

Four<sup>31</sup> news reports were selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- **Focuses on what Sarkozy said** - News reports which contain a large amount of either direct quotation or reported speech by Sarkozy and a quote in the title or lead were selected as potential texts. Preference was given to reports that include what Sarkozy said in the Paris banlieue in 2005.
- **Has at least one possible French Reuters source** – for each of the reports in the corpus, a French-language Reuters report, covering the same news event, published on the same day and containing a good proportion of the same quotes, was identified<sup>32</sup>. Although it is possible that the journalists produced the English reports without making reference at all to the French report, it seems unlikely that journalists would not use the French reports as a source, particularly since the Paris bylines on the English reports indicate that the journalists were working alongside the teams responsible for the French reports in the Paris bureau. The time of publication showing on the reports make it possible that the French reports were used as sources; they were all published between 20 minutes and 13 hours before the English report. Furthermore, comparing the reports reveals similarities which indicate that the journalist used the French report as the main, or at least one, of their sources (see appendices 2.2.1 - 2.2.5 for details of the comparative analysis which led the French reports, and other items, to be identified as likely sources).
- **Is around 400-600 words in length** – Reports of less than 400 words are considered too short for the purposes of the investigation on the basis that they may not be detailed enough to generate sufficient discussion in the focus groups and not provide enough instances of translation for implementing the strategy changes. Reports of more than 600 words are considered too long on the basis that they may be too lengthy for participants to read and discuss in the focus groups.

One of the four reports originally selected for the pilot study (CRIME POLICIES) was replaced before completing the main study. The decision to replace this report was made on the basis of the response of the pilot study participants; the participants in both groups commented frequently on how “disjointed” the CRIME POLICIES report was and how this made it difficult to follow. These comments, which are not valuable as data because the structure and flow of the

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<sup>31</sup> Four news reports was felt to be the maximum number that could be read and adequately discussed in the planned 2-hour focus group (see 4.2 for details of the focus group method).

<sup>32</sup> I searched the ‘Reuters - Les actualités en français’ source on Factiva by entering the date the English report was published and a key term from the news report such as a place name.

reports are not affected by the strategy changes, dominated the discussion when I asked questions related to reading ease. The CRIME POLICIES report was also considerably longer than the other reports so it is possible that the length also contributed to the participants finding it a struggle to read. I therefore decided to remove this report from the set of reports used in the main study. Since the pilot study data is used in the analysis in Chapters 7, 8 and 9, the CRIME POLICIES report is also included in analyses of current strategy in 5.3.1 and Chapter 6.

Table 5 below details the headlines, publication date and word count of the four reports used in the main study and the CRIME POLICIES report used in place of the SECURITY report in the pilot study:

Short name	Headline	Publication date	Words <sup>33</sup>
<b>Main study</b>			
IMMIGRATION	France's Sarkozy pledges tough immigration line	11 December 2006	430
THUGOCRACY	Sarkozy says "thugocracy" behind French riots	29 November 2007	469
SECURITY	Sarkozy promises to beef up French suburb security	2 February 2008	464
DUMMY	France's Sarkozy caught calling journalist "dummy"	15 March 2012	476
<b>Pilot study</b>			
CRIME POLICIES	Sarkozy defends crime policies after Paris riots	31 October 2005	565

**Table 5 - The Reuters corpus**

After selecting the reports to use in the corpus and beginning to analyse the reports, I identified foreignising elements in some of the reports; the use of foreign language (in the THUGOCRACY report only) and non-fluent translations of quotations. These foreignising elements are problematic for the focus group data collection since I wish to gauge the impact of the changes I have made to foreignise the reports; if there was a foreignising effect in the original Reuters report then I would not be able to distinguish the impact of these foreignising elements from the impact of the changes made in line with the foreignised strategy. The use of foreign language in the THUGOCRACY report is considered to be atypical of Reuters current translation practice; none of the other reports include foreign language and the Reuters *Handbook* states that foreign language should be avoided (Reuters, 2014 p.245). The foreign language is therefore removed from the THUGOCRACY report in preparing the 'original' report

<sup>33</sup> The word count of the 'original' report (as prepared for participants to read in the focus groups), not counting the headline and byline (date, location, names of the journalists/editors).

on which to implement the strategy changes but is included in the analysis of current strategy in 5.3.1 and Chapter 6. The journalist's use of foreign language is reinstated in the 'foreignised' version of the THUGOCRACY report and forms the basis of strategy change 1, involving the retention of foreign language (see 6.1).

The non-fluent translation of quotations identified in some places in the corpus is also atypical of Reuters' current practice. The *Handbook* does call for a literal translation "if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis" (p.390) but the quotations translated using a non-fluent strategy in the corpus are not felt to fit this description. The foreignising effect created by the non-fluent translations is therefore considered to be non-deliberate and not indicative of Reuters' current translation strategy. Further issues identified in the corpus are the inconsistent translation of the words 'racaille' and 'Karcher' in Sarkozy's 2005 quotations. Since the participants read all four reports in the corpus, inconsistency in the translation of these terms might have artificially prompted the participants to identify the translation process, thus affecting the data on translation awareness. A full list of the revisions made to remove these issues from the original Reuters reports, along with a detailed explanation of why each revision was felt to be necessary, is provided in Appendix 2.3.2.

### **3.3.2 A focus on quotation (translating what Sarkozy said)**

As I aim to clarify in this thesis, the translation of quotation constitutes the bulk of the translation part of the agency journalist's newswriting task; this is not only because agency news reporting is dominated by quotation (as illustrated in the AFP example in 1.3.2) but also because agency journalists do not translate source texts, they produce new texts. As mentioned in 2.1.3, this limits the involvement of translation to the translation of foreign-language quotes and culture-specific terms. It is therefore by natural consequence of looking at the translation strategies of the global agencies that the translation of quotation is a focus of this research project. The strategies used by agency journalists to translate quotation further warrant attention because of the wide reproduction of agency content; the words of key world figures are circulated and become embedded in the global news system as they are translated by news agency journalists. In the discussion that follows below, I explain what Sarkozy infamously said in 2005, a news event at the heart of the case study which highlights the responsibility held by agency journalists in determining the way the words of world leaders are represented in translation.

In October 2005, words spoken a few months earlier by France's interior minister suddenly became global news. Sarkozy's inflammatory language was being reported as having helped ignite the riots which had just broken out in Paris and subsequently spread to other French cities. The inclusion of this quote as background in three of the four Reuters reports in the corpus is not atypical; English-language reporting about the former French president and interior minister (and now once again presidential candidate) frequently makes reference to what Sarkozy said in 2005. As I show, and attempt to explain, below, the English versions that continue to circulate in the British press are far from offering an accurate version of Sarkozy's words in another language. On the contrary, they combine elements of what he said on two different occasions months apart, making the case of what Sarkozy said in 2005 a good example of how the journalistic ideals of objectivity and accuracy in reporting quotation can be compromised by the translation process.

In addition to providing an account of a news event which is a key feature of the corpus, the analysis below demonstrates how the words of a global political figure can become distorted in translation, yet still reported as direct quotation. The following is an excerpt from a report published in the *Mail Online*<sup>34</sup>, the online version of the *Daily Mail* newspaper and, after the BBC News website, the second most visited news website in the UK<sup>35</sup>. The report covers the content of a speech made by Sarkozy, at the time (September 2011) France's president, at the opening of a new detention centre. The lead paragraph sets out the focus of the news story as Sarkozy's "hard-hitting plan to send teenage thugs to a new generation of military boot camps"; what Sarkozy said in 2005 is added as context on the French president in the penultimate paragraph:

As interior minister six years ago, he was accused of inflaming three weeks of nationwide street violence by saying of urban rioters: 'They are scum who need to be cleaned from the streets with a power hose.'

The above excerpt is an example of how two different speech events that occurred over four months apart are often combined in English language reporting to give a succinct (translated)

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<sup>34</sup> *How do the French deal with teenage thugs? Send them to military boot camp*, Ian Sparks, 13 September 2011. Retrieved 08.09.2015 from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2036943/Nicolas-Sarkozy-announces-plans-send-teenage-thugs-military-boot-camp.html>

<sup>35</sup> Ofcom report, *BBC News is the most popular news site among UK internet users* (2012). Retrieved 23.09.2015 from: <http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/market-data-research/market-data/communications-market-reports/cmr12/internet-web/uk-4.56>



version of what Sarkozy said. The combination of a quote Sarkozy made in June 2005 with another quote made in October 2005 is so commonplace in the British press that I only became aware of the two separate news events when I began to trace what Sarkozy is reported to have said in the British press back to what the news agencies reported in French at the time. What I found is that the two news events, what Sarkozy said in June (hereafter the “Karcher” quote) and what he said in October (hereafter the “*racaille*” quote), while covered on the news agencies’ wires, did not get reported in the mainstream British press until riots broke out in Paris and Sarkozy’s words became more newsworthy, at which point they appear to have become combined.

Table 6 below presents the two news events and how they were reported in French, and in English, by Agence France-Presse at the time. Both Reuters and AFP provided coverage on these news events at the time but AFP’s coverage, accessible via the Factiva database, offers the clearest chronological account. Since I aim to clarify exactly what Sarkozy did say, I have not provided my own English translation alongside the French.

What Sarkozy says	What AFP reports
<p><b>19 June 2005 (the “Karcher” quote)</b></p> <p>Sarkozy, French interior minister, visits the Cité des 4.000, a housing estate in La Courneuve, in the Paris <i>banlieue</i>, to meet the parents of an 11-year-old boy who had been killed by gunfire between two gangs. He is filmed talking to local residents and saying:</p> <p>"Les voyous vont disparaître, je mettrai les effectifs qu'il faut mais on nettoiera la cité des 4000".<sup>36</sup></p> <p>On the same visit, Sarkozy is heard using the phrase "nettoyer au Karcher" while talking to the boy's family.</p> <p>The fact that this now infamous quote was not captured by TV cameras or witnessed by reporters and therefore entered the news cycle as a secondary source might explain why it was not included in the first few reports of Sarkozy's visit to La Courneuve published by AFP.</p>	<p><b>21 June 2005, AFP reports in French:</b></p> <p>M. Sarkozy avait ajouté: "les voyous vont disparaître, je mettrai les effectifs qu'il faut mais on nettoiera la cité des 4.000". Selon des propos rapportés par le maire (PCF) de la Courneuve, Gilles Poux, le ministre avait auparavant promis devant la famille de la victime de "nettoyer au karcher" le quartier.<sup>37</sup></p> <p><b>23 June 2005, AFP reports in English:</b></p> <p>Visiting the "city of 4,000" housing estate in La Courneuve on Monday, Sarkozy said that the "hooligans are going to disappear. I am going to put in the men needed to clean up" the estate.</p> <p>In a conversation with the father of Sidi Ahmed Hammache, he promised to "clean the estate up with an industrial power-hose."<sup>38</sup></p>

<sup>36</sup> *Enfant tué par balle: Nicolas SARKOZY promet de "nettoyer" la COURNEUVE*, INA [online video report]. Retrieved 23.09.2015 from: <http://www.ina.fr/video/2855161001003/enfant-tue-par-balle-nicolas-sarkozy-promet-de-nettoyer-la-courneuve-video.html>

<sup>37</sup> *La Courneuve : les jeunes recherchés introuvable, vaste opération de police*, AFP, 21 June, 2005. Retrieved 10.10.2014 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?Inep=hp>

<sup>38</sup> *Sarkozy back in news after tough-talking offends left*, AFP, 23 June, 2005. Retrieved 10.10.2014 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?Inep=hp>

<p><b>25 October 2005 (the “<i>racaille</i>” quote)</b></p> <p>Sarkozy visits Argenteuil in the Paris banlieue and is filmed looking up from the street talking to a female resident on her balcony, he says:</p> <p>"Vous en avez assez, hein? Vous en avez assez de cette bande de <i>racaille</i>? Eh bien, on va vous en débarrasser!"<sup>39</sup></p>	<p><b>30 October 2005, AFP reports in French:</b></p> <p>Le mot de <i>racaille</i> avait été utilisé par le ministre de l'Intérieur lorsqu'il s'était rendu mardi soir à Argenteuil"<sup>40</sup></p>
	<p><b>3 November 2005, AFP reports in English:</b></p> <p>Days later, he called rebellious youths living in the neighbourhoods "rabble".<sup>41</sup></p>

**Table 6 - What Sarkozy said in 2005 and how it was reported by AFP**

As mentioned above, the aim of detailing what Sarkozy said was to clarify the picture; offering my own analyses of what was said and what was reported in French and English would detract from this goal in the same way that offering a translation would. I would however like to highlight one particular point of comparison; in the reporting of the “*racaille*” quote, the French AFP report simply states that the word *racaille* was used by Sarkozy in Argenteuil, without presenting the word within quotation marks. The English report states that it is the ‘rebellious youths’ who live in Argenteuil that Sarkozy called “rabble” (the word chosen to translate *racaille* here), and rabble is put between quotation marks. This illustrates the kind of shift that can occur as a result of the translation process. French reports, in the name of accuracy, can only put what was actually spoken between quotation marks, a degree of accuracy which is fundamentally unattainable when reporting the words in another language. The translation process necessitates a departure from the actual words spoken, opening up the possibility of the original speech becoming distorted, but not preventing the translated version being attributed to the speaker as a direct quotation.

English translations of Sarkozy’s words tend to differ in three key places; looking at these differences can help to understand how the choices made by journalists in translating the quote have resulted in significantly different versions:

<sup>39</sup> *Visite de Nicolas Sarkozy à Argenteuil*, INA [online video report]. Retrieved 23.09.2015 from: <http://www.ina.fr/video/2951569001019/visite-de-nicolas-sarkozy-a-argenteuil-video.html>

<sup>40</sup> *Begag pas d'accord avec Sarkozy pour parler de "racaille"*, AFP, 30 October, 2005. Retrieved 10.10.2014 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?Inep=hp>

<sup>41</sup> *France's hardline interior minister in the hot seat over Paris riots*, AFP, 3 November, 2005. Retrieved 10.10.2014 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?Inep=hp>

### The translation of the brand name *Karcher*

English translations tend to replace the brand name Karcher with a description. This choice can be justified by the fact that readers in the UK would be unlikely to recognise the brand name and therefore not understand the significance of the statement. The descriptions used to replace the brand name vary; common renderings are “power hose” and “industrial cleaner”.

### The translation of the noun *racaille*

Sarkozy’s use of the word *racaille* was the subject of much debate in France; its translation is therefore particularly sensitive. *The Guardian* published an article discussing the significance of the word *racaille* in France in which it rejected the translation ‘scum’ (a common translation in the British press) in favour of ‘rabble’, which it claims to be the “literal equivalent”<sup>42</sup>. There are several reports on the internet that the BBC also first used the translation ‘scum’ but later retracted the translation and used ‘rabble’ instead<sup>43</sup>.

### The translation of the verb *nettoyer* (part of the “Karcher” quote)

Choosing a translation for *nettoyer* involves opting between two interpretations. The primary meaning of the verb is equivalent to the English ‘to clean’, however it also carries the informal meaning of removing undesirable or dangerous people from a place<sup>44</sup>, which can justify translations such as ‘rid’. Owing to the different ways Sarkozy’s words have been translated, it is difficult to complete a comprehensive analysis. A very limited analysis of the way the verb *nettoyer* has been translated was completed by searching Reuters reports for instances of the quote by using Karcher as a search term. Since, as discussed above, most translations replace the brand name with a descriptive noun, it is not surprising that this turned up only five reports. However, in these five reports alone there are four variations on the translation for *nettoyer* – ‘clean’ (used in two reports), ‘oust’, ‘rid’ and ‘sweep’<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> *How the ‘rabble’ gave Sarkozy a lesson on the power of language*, Sheila Pulham. Retrieved 23.09.2015 from: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/nov/12/france.comment>.

<sup>43</sup> *The Guardian* and BBC are justified in opting against the use of ‘scum’ since, unlike the English word, *racaille* in French has only one meaning; it denotes a population and is closely equivalent in meaning to the English words ‘riffraff’ and ‘rabble’, the translations given in the Collins French-English dictionary. However, the only translation the Oxford French-English dictionary gives for *racaille* is ‘scum’, a word which refers primarily to matter. The Collins English dictionary refers to a population in only its fifth definition of the word ‘scum’. A translation which uses ‘riffraff’ or ‘rabble’ therefore arguably more accurately represents Sarkozy’s statement than one which quotes him as referring to an element of his country’s population using a word commonly used to refer to undesirable matter.

<sup>44</sup> The third definition in the Larousse French dictionary online is “Débarrasser un lieu d’éléments indésirables, dangereux : La police voulait nettoyer la ville”. Retrieved 23.09.2015 from: <http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/nettoyer/54344?q=nettoyer#53981>

<sup>45</sup> In the first part of the quote captured on camera on 19 June 2005 Sarkozy refers to an unspecified group of people as *voyous*; the most likely interpretation in the context of this quote might be therefore that he uses the verb *nettoyer* in the

It would be most logical to assume that English versions of the quotes combine the two comments Sarkozy made on 19 June – the reference to the *voyous* and the off-camera “nettoyer au Karcher” quote. It would seem however that English news reports in fact combine the *Karcher* quote from 19 June with what Sarkozy said on 25 October. Firstly, although on the whole English news reports do not keep any of the controversial French words for their readers’ reference, some publications do on occasion include the French words; one of these publications is *The Guardian*. A search on the Factiva database of all *The Guardian* sources over all time turns up 19 reports which keep the word *racaille* with an explanation, the same search for *voyous* does not turn up any news reports. This might simply indicate that *The Guardian* feels the word *racaille* is more controversial than *voyous* but a search for the word *voyous* in Reuters reports also returned no reports. A search for *racaille* however turned up eight news reports.

A second reason for concluding that the October *racaille* quote is combined with the June *Karcher* quote in translations in English news reports is that it was only when the riots broke out at the end of October, and Sarkozy’s inflammatory language was being blamed for sparking the violence, that what he said in the Paris *banlieue* became newsworthy enough to be widely reported in English. Although Reuters and Agence France-Presse had both published English news reports about Sarkozy’s visit to the ‘Cité des 4,000’ in June, the story of Sarkozy’s inflammatory language did not get widely reported in the British press until the riots broke out in Paris, at which point, it would seem, journalists went back to the stories published in the previous four months which reported Sarkozy to have promised to “nettoyer au Karcher” the Cité des 4,000.

The above is a brief account of what Sarkozy said in 2005 and the way it has been reported in the British press. Rather than provide an in-depth analysis it has been my intention to show how

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sense of removing the “voyous” from the estate, an interpretation which would be best communicated by the English verb ‘rid’. *Nettoyer* features again in the off-camera quote from the same visit but the combination with *Karcher* – he is reported to have promised that he will *nettoyer* the estate “au Karcher” (with a Karcher) - changes the interpretation of the verb, making the statement much more controversial. The reference to the industrial cleaner makes the translation ‘clean out’ or ‘wash out’ much more natural in English. In the quote from 25 October, Sarkozy does not use the verb *nettoyer*, but uses *débarrasser*, meaning ‘remove’ or ‘get rid of’, which, in the context of the quote, is synonymous with the secondary, informal meaning of *nettoyer*. Sarkozy is promising to rid the residents of the estate of *racaille*. Although he uses *débarrasser* in place of *nettoyer* and *racaille* in place of *voyous*, the sentiment of Sarkozy’s words, uttered four months later at a different housing estate, seems to be the same.

what someone says in a foreign language can be distorted in translation yet still attributed to them as direct speech.

### 3.3.3 A focus on culture-specific terms (translating the *banlieue*)

It was in the Paris *banlieue* that the 2005 riots began and where Sarkozy uttered the two quotations discussed in 3.3.2. The term tends to be translated as 'suburb' in English (Armstrong, 2005 p.71) but, as reflected in the entry for *banlieue* in *The Guardian and Observer Style Guide*, the two terms are not equivalent:

French for suburbia, not suburb: strictly singular, but a French reader points out that the Petit Robert dictionary listed "les banlieues" among its "nouveaux mots" in 2006; the French for suburb is faubourg (literally, "false town")<sup>46</sup>

The entry reflects another common inaccuracy in renderings of the French culture-specific concept. While in English the residential areas on the outskirts of a city are referred to as the city's 'suburbs' (plural), in French the residential areas on the outskirts of a city are known collectively as its *banlieue* (e.g. the Paris *banlieue*). The term is only used in the plural when referring to the *banlieues* of multiple cities (e.g. the *banlieues* of Lyon and Paris). As exemplified in the following excerpt from a report by AFP, whether *banlieue* is translated or kept in French, it is commonly inaccurately rendered in the plural, seemingly as a result of being equated to the English concept 'suburbs':

The population of Paris has been steadily falling from its peak of three million in 1921, while the suburbs -- or *banlieues* -- have continued to expand.<sup>47</sup>

By equating *banlieue* with 'suburbia', *The Guardian's* style guide entry accurately reflects the correct (singular) usage, but does not highlight the cultural distinctions between the two terms.

A negative image of the *banlieue*, and in particular the young people who live there, prevails in the French media system (Glasze et al., 2012 p.1206; Mével, 2008 p.161), with connotations of violence, insecurity and a predominantly ethnic population (Mével, 2008 p.165):

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<sup>46</sup> Under 'b' in *The Guardian and Observer style guide*. Retrieved 23.09.2015 from: <http://www.theguardian.com/guardian-observer-style-guide-b>

<sup>47</sup> *Paris population stops falling*, AFP, 29 January, 2007. Retrieved 10.10.2014 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?Inep=hp>

French large housing estates are constituted, in addition to notions such as attentats (attacks) that describe acts of violence, as threatening places. This is usually seen through the relationship of concepts such as insécurité (insecurity), violence, or délinquance [sic] (delinquency) to the descriptions of banlieues. (Glasze, Pütz et al., 2012 p.1200)

By contrast, the English word 'suburb' connotes leafy-green areas where middle class people live the 'good life' in semi-detached houses<sup>48</sup>.

The cultural reality attached to *banlieue* makes it difficult to translate (Mével, 2008 p.164). Replacing the culture-specific term with 'suburb(s)' (a strategy used often in the corpus – see Table 13 in 5.3.1) is an example of the acculturating translation strategies typically used in news agency reporting. The acculturation of *banlieue* to 'suburb(s)' limits the readers understanding of the foreign cultural context. When a French reader reads a news report about a riot in a *banlieue* of Paris they understand this to have occurred in the deprived outskirts of the city. If a British reader reads about a riot in the 'suburbs' of Paris however, they are likely to understand the riot to have occurred in the cultural reality attached to the word suburb.

This discussion aimed to demonstrate the significance of the term *banlieue*, the difficulty of translating it and the subsequent value it offers in the corpus as a site for exploring foreignised strategies for rendering culture-specific items. Searching through the instances of *banlieue* on Factiva turned up a report to which it seems pertinent to refer in closing this discussion. The report was published by Agence France-Presse at the time of the 2005 riots<sup>49</sup>. It informs the reader of a presidential campaign tactic used by Sarkozy's party, the UMP, to gain support from voters sympathetic with Sarkozy's "firm policies". Anyone typing *banlieue* and *emeutes* (riots) into Google at the time was presented with a sponsored link to the UMP website. The news report demonstrates the political significance of the word in the French context and therefore the culture-specific meaning that is lost when references to the *banlieues* are translating using an acculturating strategy.

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<sup>48</sup> *Suburbia fights back*, Tom Geoghegan. Last updated 26 April, 2005. Retrieved 23.09.2015 from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/4483097.stm>

<sup>49</sup> *French ruling party having a riot on the internet*, AFP, 7 November, 2005. Retrieved 10.10.2014 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?Inep=hp>

### Further remarks

In this chapter I have presented the aims of the research, the questions the project seeks to answer and the way in which those questions are investigated. A few clarifications may be needed in terms of what the research seeks to do and the problem it addresses. First of all I wish to clarify that in conducting this research I do not intend to *effect* a change in the way the global news agencies translate the news, but to explore whether there is scope for foreignising the way news is translated generally. This point needs clarifying for two reasons; firstly because I talk throughout the thesis about developing a foreignised strategy that represents a 'viable' alternative, and secondly because the foreignised strategy is developed as an alternative to Reuters' current strategy.

The reason that I place such emphasis on the foreignised strategy representing a 'viable' alternative is because the aim of the research is to find out if a foreignised approach to the translation of news information, as an alternative to the current acculturation norm, could ever be a realistic possibility. If I were to neglect the constraints and requirements that govern newswriting then finding ways to foreignise news translation strategy would be a much more straightforward process, based on translation principles and theories alone, but it would not tell me if a foreignised approach to news translation could work in practice. The literature finds an acculturating strategy to be necessary because of the goal of communicating news information in a way that meets the needs of the target audience; in order to explore whether a degree of foreignisation might be possible, I need to keep this goal firmly in mind.

The second point to clarify is that the object of research is the norm for acculturation in news translation; I am concerned in particular with the translation practices of the global news agencies because, as illustrated in Chapter 1, the content produced by these agencies dominates foreign news coverage. Reuters' current translation strategy is taken purely as a case study, for reasons set out in 3.3.1. It is not my intention to imply that the way that Reuters, or indeed any of the 'Big three' agencies, translates news information is problematic. The analyses of current practice presented in this thesis show that agency journalists are required to make foreign news information intelligible to a broad target audience at the same time as adhering to a series of newswriting principles; the translation solutions they arrive at are highly effective in balancing these requirements and on (exceptional) occasion also allow the reader

contact with the foreignness of the source culture or language. The strategies used on these occasions are adopted as part of the foreignised strategy presented in Chapter 6.



## Chapter 4

### Reader response

This chapter begins with an overview of the reader-response tools used in existing research to understand the way people read news and translated texts (4.1). The section that follows details the focus group design used in this project; this section, forming the bulk of the chapter, explains what benefits a focus group method offers that other methods do not, and the decisions taken in the design process to ensure the method worked as effectively as possible (4.2). In the final part of the chapter the approach taken in the analysis of the focus group data is described (4.3).

#### 4.1 Finding a method

Determining what method would best enable me to explore the impact of the changes to foreignise Reuters' current strategy on readers has been the most challenging part of the research process; this is in part because investigating reader response is a relatively untrodden path. Conway and Vaskivska observe a lack of research into how audiences "actually interpret and interact with translated news" (2010 p.234). The authors look at readers' comments in response to online news articles; an approach to the examination of reader response used more recently by Tian and Chao (2012). The lack of empirical audience research is not specific to news translation; in translation studies generally little attention has been given to how 'real readers' respond to translated texts (Brems & Ramos Pinto, 2013 p.145; Chan, 2015). The studies highlighted in the discussion below exemplify the variety of methods used to investigate the way readers respond to texts. The possible application of these methods to the current investigation has been considered by looking at how these tools have been used by researchers, discussing the potential value of each with my supervisors and other academics and peers, and by attending training courses on these methods.

The empirical audience research that has been completed within translation studies has tended to be in the subfield of audiovisual translation (*ibid* p.146); one example is a PhD research project by Yuan using interviews to assess response to Chinese subtitles (Yuan, 2010); another example is Künzli and Ehrensberger-Dow's (2011) investigation of the impact of "innovative subtitling" on audience satisfaction (using questionnaires) and on which parts of the screen

receive attention (using eye-tracking). The methods used by researchers who have sought to find out something about the way people read texts are reviewed in the following discussion, in terms of their value and applicability to the current research project.

#### **4.1.1 Text-based approaches**

The tendency in news translation research towards textual analysis is a characteristic of translation studies generally. To date, translation studies scholars have tended to examine issues such as reader engagement and readability without testing their conclusions on readers themselves (Lu & Chen, 2011; Puurtinen, 1998). Bassnett examines the effect of a foreignising strategy used to translate a speech by Saddam Hussein on readers by analysing the translations alone (2005) and Bielsa and Bassnett discuss the impact of two British newspapers' versions of the translated transcript from Hussein's trial on readers in the same way (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009). News translation researchers have found critical discourse analysis (CDA) to be a useful tool for examining the transformations that occur when news content is translated (Federici, 2010; Kang, 2007; Schäffner, 2012b; Valdeón, 2005).

CDA has been criticised for failing to investigate the response of readers to the texts being analysed (Philo, 2007; Stubbs, 1997 p.106). In an entry in the 2013 edition of the *Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies*, Holland describes the reliance on discourse-based approaches in research on news production generally, as well as the limitations of examining news at the discourse level only:

A sense of audience is clearly of central importance to many of those involved in the production and dissemination of news – from large media organizations to individual journalists and/or translators – and academic critiques of news media output are commonly predicated on the assumption that news as discourse has certain effects upon the public at large. However, evidence for such claims is notoriously difficult to demonstrate. (Holland, 2013 p.343)

The combined absence of reader-response analysis in CDA and translation studies has been highlighted and addressed by Mason, who warns of the “dangers of asserting the effects of particular translations without extra-linguistic evidence of their actual reception by their users” and the need “to find ways of investigating reader response, an under-researched area of descriptive translation studies” (Mason, 2009 p.63).

Forms of textual analysis are used in this thesis in order to answer the first two research questions posed – what do the translation strategies of the global news agencies look like (RQ1) and in what ways could they be foreignised (RQ2). The third research question aims to go beyond what textual analysis can tell us about news translation strategies and find out something about what impact foreignising these strategies might have on readers.

#### **4.1.2 Comprehension tests**

One example of a study which aims to address the lack of reader-based methods within CDA is Murata's investigation of the impact of cultural assumptions (2007). Two groups, one comprised of Japanese respondents and one of non-Japanese respondents, were given the same text to read and then asked to answer a comprehension questionnaire. The focus is on how readers' interpretations are influenced by what they themselves bring to the text (i.e. their cultural assumptions). Of the ten questions, eight constituted a "standard reading comprehension exercise" (*ibid* p. 41). Six of these eight were included to disguise the objective of the questionnaire; the two questions of interest asked for information that was not in fact included in the news report. The answers to these two questions were used to assess how the participants' background knowledge affected the way they processed the information in the text.

The use of recall tests is one method of empirical investigation Widdowson suggests CDA researchers could consider using to overcome the limitations of the technique in terms of assessing actual reader response. The recall test involves giving readers a text to read and then asking them to recall the content, for instance by providing a summary. Another suggestion involves modifying textual features considered to be of significance and measuring reader response before and after the modification (Widdowson, 2004 p.170). Mason follows both these suggestions in a pilot experiment where one group reads an original text (a speech by an Irish MEP) and one group reads a modified version (Mason, 2009). The participants were first asked to summarise the texts and then to answer two multiple-choice questions to determine who they felt was attributed agency in the text. Mason finds the modifications to have an impact on who the readers felt was attributed agency by the speaker but states that the experiment had only been a "tentative enquiry" without the methodological rigour required to reach firm conclusions (*ibid* p.66).

The usefulness of comprehension recall tests is questioned by Schaap (2004) in relation to the processing of television news. Schaap points out that assessments of comprehension are dependent on what the researcher considers to be an accurate interpretation of the excerpt used in the test (*ibid* p.117) and argues that by seeking to measure what viewers can accurately recall researchers risk overlooking other potential areas of interest in the data. A further argument is that because viewers process news information according to their own terms, when asked a question in the researcher's terms, "a viewer may experience difficulty in retrieving information, thus accounting for the low levels of recall and high level of miscomprehension found in general television news research" (*ibid* p.118). In light of the limitations of the recall test as a method of measuring news comprehension, Mathieu (2009) advocates the use of qualitative methods:

previous findings are tied to the methods used, and unless we are content with the conclusion that recipients do almost nothing with the news, alternative methods need to be explored. In that respect, qualitative methods seem more appropriate to investigate what recipients actually do with the news. (Mathieu, 2009 pp.81-82)

An 'adaptation' of the think-aloud protocol method Schaap suggests as an alternative to the recall test is adopted by Mathieu (*ibid*) in a comparative cross-cultural news comprehension study. In individual interviews, Danish and Quebecois participants were given one news report from Denmark and one from Quebec (the one not from the participant's home nation being a translation) and asked to give verbal reports relating to their comprehension after each paragraph. A problem Mathieu highlights is that the method relies on the participant's ability to report on their comprehension, an unfamiliar task (*ibid* p.89). As I explain in 3.2.2, rather than measuring comprehension, the reader-response investigation used in the current research project is aimed at exploring the impact of the strategy changes on reading ease (in addition to translation awareness and cosmopolitan openness). Methods which, like Mathieu's think-aloud protocol, involve asking participants directly about the area(s) of interest are not suited to the aims of the research since asking participants to report on their translation awareness would prompt that awareness and thus not represent natural response.

#### **4.1.3 Eye-tracking**

Kruger (2013) investigates the impact of 'foreignised elements' in translated children's literature on cognitive effort using a combination of eye-tracking and short interviews comprising three

comprehension questions. Kruger's research has parallels with my own in that she is interested in finding out how readers cope when confronted with foreign elements. Kruger points out that studies which empirically test the impact of either a foreignising or acculturating translation strategy on readers are scarce (*ibid* p.182). Rather than accept the assumption that children need translations to be acculturated, she carries out empirical research in order to investigate the possibility that children might be more competent at handling foreign elements than is believed (*ibid* p.181-2).

The value an eye-tracker offers researchers investigating the way people read texts is that it can tell the researcher how long a participant fixates on a particular 'area of interest' (AOI). In Kruger's study the AOIs were the 'foreignised elements' (*ibid* p.194), as indeed they would be in my study. The fixation duration is interpreted as an indication of cognitive load (O'Brien, 2011; Rayner, 1998) – the longer the participant fixates on an AOI, the more difficulty they are considered to have experienced processing the information. This measurement would therefore be of value for the purposes of this research project, were it not for two considerations.

The first consideration is a practical one; one of the difficulties researchers experience in studies where participants are asked to read texts displayed on a screen is that it is not always possible to tell which word the eyes are fixated on because the fixation measurement appears to fall between two lines of text (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013 p.140)<sup>50</sup>. One way of overcoming this problem would be to use a large font size, but this would increase the need for participants to scroll to view the whole text and scrolling interrupts (and therefore jeopardises) the data collection (*ibid*)<sup>51</sup>. Furthermore, using an abnormally large font size would create an unnatural reading situation. The second consideration relates to concerns about what the data collected could actually tell me, since in addition to indicating cognitive load, a longer fixation duration could also be an indication of increased interest<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> This problem was encountered by a PhD candidate at the University of Durham who kindly took the time to talk to me about her experience of using the eye-tracker.

<sup>51</sup> Eye-trackers are highly temperamental and 'perfect' conditions are needed to ensure successful data collection, factors such as eye-colour and eyelash length also affect the performance.

<sup>52</sup> I was fortunate to be able to discuss the merits and limitations of using eye-tracking in my study with Arnt Lykke Jakobsen in his capacity of Chair Professor at the 2014 CETRA Summer School, an expert on the use of eye-tracking in translation research, who shared my concern with regards to the interpretation of the data.

#### **4.1.4 Focus groups**

The lack of reader-response research in translation studies goes hand in hand with a lack of focus group research. In translation studies' sister field, interpreting studies, the use of focus groups is well established (two examples are Angelelli, 2006; Napier, 2011). Among the focus group research in the latter field are studies which use the method to investigate the reception of interpreting by end users. The body of focus group research in translation studies appears not so far to have included any use of the method to investigate the reception of translations by end users (Böser, 2015). A great deal has been written about focus group research in social sciences methodology textbooks (Dörnyei, 2007; Hennink et al., 2011; Krueger & Casey, 2009). The advice in these textbooks and in a recently published title on methodologies in translation research (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013), as well as the methodologies used in relevant interpreting studies literature, have informed my focus group design with regard to decisions such as the number of participants to include in each group and how long the focus groups should last. While helpful on focus group research more generally, I have not found any publications within this body of literature which describe the text-based, reader-response focus group design needed for this research project.

I had expected journalism studies to offer a rich body of research of this nature, what I have found however is a limited amount of studies that empirically test audience response to the news. The extent to which this body of research can help guide me in designing my focus group methodology was further limited by the fact that most of these studies are investigations of television news audiences. Given that news is a commodity (Bielsa, 2007 p.148; Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1998 p.2), the lack of audience-based journalism research is particularly surprising; it seems logical to expect the use of focus groups to investigate the wants and needs of news consumers to be as common as it is in other consumer-focused fields, such as marketing (Morgan, 1996 p.132).

According to Bryman, focus groups are common in media studies research (2008 p.475). Certainly, in the audience research that has been conducted, text-based interviews and focus groups have been the predominant method of data collection, regardless of the news genre (written, television or images) being researched (Madianou, 2009 p.330). However, news audiences are under-researched generally and what little research there is tends to be focused

on TV news audiences (Madianou, 2009 p325; Philo & Berry, 2004; van Dijk, 1988 p.140). One exception (although not looking at the act of reading itself) is Coleman et al.'s (2011) use of focus groups to examine public trust in British journalism. The limited use of focus groups in translation and journalism studies is symptomatic of the fact that both fields have neglected the importance of examining the way the product (translations in the case of translation studies and newswriting in the case of journalism studies) is received and consumed by the target audience. I therefore found myself presented with a double-edged sword; in designing a focus group method to use in this project I had the opportunity to make a significant methodological contribution to both translation and journalism studies, but little existing research to help light my way. The focus group design arrived at is detailed in 4.2 below.

## **4.2 The focus group method**

In the first part of this discussion (4.2.1) I outline the focus group design used, including the number of participants, the way they were recruited and what they were asked to do. Taking each aspect of the focus group design in turn, I explain in detail the reasoning behind each of the decisions made. These explanations also help to illustrate the reasoning behind my decision to use a focus group method in this research project. In the second part of the discussion I present the participants and the exclusion criteria used in the recruitment process (4.2.2). The section closes with a discussion of the potential weakness and limitations of the focus group design (4.2.3).

### **4.2.1 The focus group design**

A comparative focus group method is followed involving sets of two focus groups; one group is given the 'foreignised' news reports (the reports with the strategy changes implemented) and the other group is given the original news reports. This method has parallels with the "experimental design" described by Saldanha and O'Brien (2013). An "experimental design" is one where the effect of a change is measured by comparing two groups, the "experimental group" and the "control group" (*ibid* p.15). The study by Mason (2009) described in the first part of this chapter (4.1.2) is an example of an experimental focus group design; in this study the experimental group is the group given the modified speech to read and the control group is the group given the original speech. The study by Kruger (2013) mentioned above (4.1.3) also follows an experimental design. I do not classify my research design as experimental since I am

not using any tools to empirically measure the effect of a change; however, it does otherwise follow the same comparative method. The group given the foreignised news reports functions as a kind of 'experimental group' and the group given the original news reports functions as a kind of 'control group'.

Without the use of a 'control' group, it would be difficult to draw even tentative conclusions regarding the impact of the strategy changes. I need to be able to assess whether a particular response is the result of the changes I made to the news reports or whether the response was created by something in the original report. For instance, if I only ran focus groups where the participants were given the foreignised reports and there were indications of reading difficulty, I would not know if this was a result of the strategy changes or because of the way the original report was written. An alternative to the comparative method involving giving the participants a mix of foreignised and original reports was rejected on the basis that reading one foreignised report would affect the participants' response to the original reports read subsequently (and vice versa).

### **Number of focus groups**

In total six focus groups were conducted. The groups were conducted in three sets of two focus groups. Each set of focus groups comprised one group reading the 'original' reports (hereafter the 'ORIGINAL groups') and one focus group reading the 'foreignised' reports (hereafter the 'FOREIGNISED groups').

#### **ORIGINAL GROUPS**

- 1) ORIGINAL PILOT GROUP
- 3) ORIGINAL GROUP A
- 5) ORIGINAL GROUP B

#### **FOREIGNISED GROUPS**

- 2) FOREIGNISED PILOT GROUP
- 4) FOREIGNISED GROUP A
- 6) FOREIGNISED GROUP B

The first set of focus groups was conducted as a pilot study and two subsequent sets were completed as the main study. The pilot study was considered successful on the basis that the data collected seemed to offer a great deal of scope for analysis, therefore no changes were made to the method itself. However, as one of the news reports was replaced (as detailed in 3.3.1) and the strategy was further foreignised on the basis of the data elicited from the pilot study (as discussed in 6.2.2), this set of focus groups is referred to as the 'pilot study' throughout this thesis in order to clearly distinguish it from the two sets completed subsequently.



### **Group size**

The typical size for focus groups is between 6 and 10 participants (Dörnyei, 2007 p.144; Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013 p.173) and the minimum group size 4 participants (Krueger & Casey, 2009 p.6). Although one benefit of focus group research is access to a plurality of views (Hennink, Hutter et al., 2011 p.138), discussion may be more successfully generated by a smaller group (Bloor et al., 2001 p.27). I have opted for a small group size (4 participants) because I believe a small group around a coffee table is more conducive to creating a relaxed environment in which participants feel comfortable sharing their views. By using small groups I aimed to reduce the potential for an individual feeling outnumbered and therefore reluctant to express a minority view (see also 'Group Composition' below). Additionally, from a practical point of view, since the focus groups were conducted in people's homes, a group larger than 4 may have been difficult to accommodate comfortably (Krueger & Casey, 2009 p.7). Furthermore, smaller numbers make it easier to arrange a time and date suitable for all participants and reduce the chances of one or more participants not showing up on the day.

### **Group composition**

Each individual focus group was comprised of a relatively homogenous pre-existing group (see 4.2.2 for details of the participants). This is a deliberate consequence of the convenience sampling approach used (detailed immediately below). Using pre-existing groups offers multiple benefits; they are more conducive to promoting natural discussion (Bryman, 2008 p.480) since the participants are more likely to feel relaxed and comfortable contributing in a group of people they know (Bloor, Frankland et al., 2001). Using homogenous groups also reduces the likelihood of a "false consensus" (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013 p.185) since participants are less likely to worry about sharing their opinions in front of others who might have more experience or knowledge, making the views of these participants more valid or interesting than their own (*ibid* p.183). For instance, if the majority of participants indicate that they find the reports easy to read, familiarity with the other participants in the group might prevent the participant who did not have the same experience agreeing with the majority in order to avoid embarrassment.

Using a group who know one another might in some cases be detrimental if participants feel embarrassed sharing certain views among friends; however, since participants were not being

asked to discuss personal matters, the familiarity of the group represented more of a help to fostering open and relaxed discussion than a hindrance.

### **Recruitment**

Participants were recruited by asking family members to invite a group of four friends to come to their homes to take part in the focus group. This constitutes a convenience sampling method (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013 p.34). The recruitment method used was chosen not only for its convenience but because of certain additional benefits. Firstly, it naturally generated relatively homogenous groups, allowed me to create an informal environment where the participants feel comfortable (a friend's home) and reduced the likelihood that participants would not show up on the day – since doing so would not just involve letting down an unknown researcher, but failing to honour an invitation from a friend. An additional benefit of this method with regard to attendance turned out to be that in the two groups where one participant dropped out for personal reasons on the day, the family members were notified and able to find replacements by contacting other friends who lived nearby.

When initially asked if they would like to take part, participants were told that my research is about how people read international news and that they would be asked to read some news reports and then have an informal discussion about these. I then contacted the participants via email. At this stage the participants were asked to answer a short questionnaire to make sure they were eligible to take part on the basis of my exclusion criteria (see 4.2.2). On successful completion of the eligibility questionnaire, the participants were sent a copy of the information sheet and consent form via email and invited to read it in advance and ask any questions (see Appendix 4.2). The aim of sending the information sheet in advance was to help participants feel confident they understood what they were being asked to do and reduce the impact that the signing of the consent form might have on the relaxed environment I aimed to create on the day. A further aim of giving participants the information sheet in advance was to make them aware that their attendance was important to my research and therefore reduce the likelihood of participants not showing up on the day.

The procedure described above was carefully thought out in order to not burden the participants with too many emails (they received two emails from me and only needed to send one reply) and to avoid the necessary formal procedures making participants feel nervous about the seriousness of their contribution.

### **Format**

The focus groups were scheduled to last up to two hours, the maximum amount of time most people can be expected to sit still and concentrate (Krueger & Casey, 2009 p.52)<sup>53</sup>. The participants were asked to read the four Reuters news reports (either original or foreignised) followed by a semi-structured discussion. The reports were read one at a time to avoid the participants becoming bored or distracted and potentially feeling uncomfortable reading in silence for an extended period. Once the group had finished reading a news report discussion was initiated with a very general and open question in order to prompt the participants to share their immediate responses. When everyone had had a chance to share their thoughts the next report was distributed and the process repeated. Once all four reports had been read, the discussion guide (see Appendix 4.1) was used to guide discussion about the four reports collectively. As the questions in the discussion guide proved to be successful at the pilot study stage in generating discussion in areas relevant to the research questions, most of the questions were asked to each group, albeit in different orders.

Before beginning each focus group a short period was spent chatting informally, with the family member who had recruited the group present. As well as giving the participants the chance to settle in and catch up with their friends, the aim of this was to help the participants feel comfortable and relaxed before beginning the focus group. Before starting the recording I made brief introductory comments included in the discussion guide to ensure that I gave the respondents the necessary information regarding what the research is about, what the format of our discussion would be, what was expected from them and other practicalities; helping them to feel relaxed and helping me to make sure the aims of the focus group were met. I also stressed to the participants at this stage that I was interested in whatever they had to say in relation to

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<sup>53</sup> The focus groups ended up coming to a natural close somewhere between 1 hour 30 and 1 hr 45.

the news reports, that there could be no such thing as a silly comment or question and that they should feel free to disagree with one another.

## Ethics

I received full ethical approval to complete the reader-response investigation described above from King's College London's Education & Management Research Ethics Panel (letter of approval attached in Appendix 4.3). As described under 'Recruitment' above, the participants were sent a copy of the information sheet and consent form (see Appendix 4.2) via email and invited to read it in advance and ask any questions. Among other points, the information sheet informed the participants that they could request a copy of the research report. It also informed participants that their responses would be anonymised, but highlighted that, since they would be taking part in a group discussion, the other participants in the group could of course disclose their identity and I was not therefore able to completely guarantee their anonymity or the confidentiality of the group discussion. Consent was received from all participants.

### 4.2.2 The participants

Table 7 below details the occupation, gender and approximate age of the participants in each focus group:

<b>Pilot study – London &amp; London</b>	
<b>FOREIGNISED – London</b>	<b>ORIGINAL – London</b>
E: Waitress/Freelance set builder (female, mid 20s)	N: Retail assistant/Illustrator (female, mid 20s)
D: Receptionist/Actress (female, mid 20s)	C: Theatre company coordinator (female, mid 20s)
L: Driver/Actor (female, early 20s)	S: Retail assistant/Actor (female, late 20s)
G: Market research (male, late 20s)	V: Actor/Teacher (female, late 20s)
<b>Main study Set A – Exeter &amp; Newcastle</b>	
<b>FOREIGNISED – Exeter</b>	<b>ORIGINAL – Newcastle</b>
J: GP (female, mid 30s)	L: Pharmacist (female, early 30s)
A: GP (female, early 30s)	R: Pharmacist (female, early 30s)
L: GP (female, late 20s)	C: Pharmacist (female, late 20s)
B: Sports development officer (male, late 20s)	G: Pharmacist (female, early 30s)
<b>Many study Set B – Southampton &amp; Southampton</b>	
<b>FOREIGNISED - Southampton</b>	<b>ORIGINAL - Southampton</b>
I: Secondary school teacher (female, early 30s)	Nurse (female, 40s/50s)
L: Customer complaint handler (female, early 30s)	Nurse (female, 40s/50s)
K: Secondary school teacher (female, early 30s)	Nurse (female, 40s/50s)
J: Accountant (female, early 40s)	Nurse (female, 40s/50s)

**Table 7 - Focus group participants**

Only two of the participants across the focus groups are male; I had not anticipated a high incidence of female participants to result from the recruitment method used but in retrospect this is a natural consequence of having recruited the participants through five female family

members. The sample covers participants between the ages of early 20s and 50s but the majority of participants are in their 20s or 30s.

Participants were asked to complete a short questionnaire to ensure they were eligible to take part. The exclusion criteria applied, the corresponding eligibility questions and the rationale behind applying the criteria are detailed in Table 8 below:

Exclusion criterion	Eligibility question/answer	Rationale
Speaking a second language	Must answer NO to:  <i>Do you actively speak a foreign language beyond G.C.S.E level (either as a result of language learning or experience living abroad)?</i>	Anyone who actively speaks a second language could be expected to have a higher awareness of translation issues generally and might therefore bring up issues related to translation where monolinguals might not have. Including second language-speakers in a focus group would therefore have made it difficult to assess whether the reports themselves prompted awareness of the translation process.
Non-native English speaker	Must answer YES to:  Are you a native English speaker?	Comparability across the participants. Anyone who is not a native English speaker was also automatically excluded as a result of excluding second language-speakers.
Non-journalists	Must answer NO to:  <i>Have you ever worked in or studied journalism or a closely related field (e.g. Press Relations)?</i>	Above-average understanding of newswriting practices could impact a participant's response. The response of other participants might also be impacted by the knowledge shared by a participant if they were to share this with the group.
Non-expert on France/French politics	Must answer NO to:  <i>Would you consider yourself to have an above-average level of knowledge of France and/or French politics?</i>	A participant with additional background knowledge might dominate the discussion and make other participants reluctant to express their views. Their response would also be difficult to compare with other participants as they are more likely to be familiar with French culture-specific items in the reports.

**Table 8 - Participant exclusion criteria**

In addition to the eligibility questions, the only other piece of personal information I requested from the participants was their occupation. I felt that knowing the participants' occupations may be helpful when it came to interpreting the data, by allowing me to know the participants a little better. I made a decision not to ask the participants for additional demographic information because asking participants for demographic information at all risked creating the impression that they were being tested in some way (since why should this information be relevant otherwise?), which it was important to avoid if the participants were to feel comfortable expressing, for instance, that they found something difficult to understand (see also 4.2.3.2 for an explanation of why I decided not to ask participants' their education level).

#### **4.2.3 Addressing potential weaknesses**

In this final part of the discussion of the focus group method, I address potential weaknesses and limitations associated with this method and how I have attempted to limit their impact on the data collected. These include the (non-)representativeness of the sample, the impact of the participants' reading ability, comparability between the groups, reliance on reported data and my position as the researcher/moderator.

##### **4.2.3.1 Representativeness**

The relatively small sample size (24 participants) restricted the level of demographic diversity that could be achieved. Completing more focus groups may have improved the representativeness of the sample, but only if I had been able to target participants from a variety of demographic groups. The recruitment method used also limited the demographic diversity of the participants. By asking family members to recruit their friends, the pool of participants was limited to whoever these family members have in their social circle once the exclusion criteria had been applied.

The exclusion criteria (detailed in 4.2.2 above), as well as excluding participants in ways intended, also limited the pool of participants in other, unintended ways. First of all, excluding non-native English speakers (and conducting the focus groups in England) made it unlikely that non-British citizens would be recruited (as indeed was the case). Given that Reuters produce news reports aimed at an 'international readership' (Reuters, 2014 p.101), the sample therefore only covers a certain section of Reuters' target audience – British readers. Secondly, excluding anyone who speaks a second language made it unlikely that any of my participants would be from an ethnic minority since native English speakers from an ethnic minority are more likely to speak a second language (potential participants from an ethnic minority were in fact excluded on this basis).

Certainly, the fact that my sample is limited to white, British, monolingual, native-English speakers means the results of the analysis are not generalisable; however, focus group research does not intend to produce generalisable results (Bloor, Frankland et al., 2001 p.30). Furthermore, I do not consider the 'measurement validity' (as defined by Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013 p.33) of the research to be compromised by these limitations. There may have been

grounds for concern if the sample only included participants who were linguists or – since the news reports relate to France – Francophiles, since these participants could be expected to be more comfortable with encountering foreign – or, in the case of the Francophiles, French – language and cultural concepts. The aim of excluding second language-speakers and experts on France/French politics was precisely to avoid recruiting participants who could be expected to be more comfortable than the average reader with the foreign elements introduced into the news reports.

#### **4.2.3.2 The impact of participant reading ability**

In the comparative focus group design, I compare the response of participants who read the foreignised reports against the response of participants who read the original reports. While this method allows me to explore the potential impact of the foreignised strategy on reading ease, it does not allow me to draw firm conclusions, partly because the reading ability of participants in one group may not be the same as that of participants in the group being compared with. While I recognise that participants' individual reading abilities cannot be discounted as a factor impacting the data collected, I also recognise this as an unavoidable limitation of using a focus group method, and indeed of reader-response research generally.

It is not possible to target groups of participants with the same reading ability because there is no way of the researcher reliably assessing a potential participant's reading ability. In the case of this study, I do not consider that asking participants their education level would offer a reliable indication of the participants' (news report) reading abilities. Asking participants how often they read a newspaper and what newspapers they regularly read may have provided a more reliable indicator of reading ability. This information was not, however, collected since I had no concrete grounds on which to make the connection between reading experience and reading ability. As I am not able to make reliable assessments of the participants' reading's abilities, I avoided making presumptions regarding individual participant's reading abilities in the analysis.

In addition to limiting the comparability between the FOREIGNISED and ORIGINAL groups, participant reading ability is also a factor when it comes to the issue of representativeness of the sample. While it is clear from the data itself that the participants are not, on the whole, expert readers (see Chapter 8), had it been possible to identify and recruit participants with lower

reading abilities this would have enriched the analysis since participants with lower reading abilities could be expected to experience more difficulty with the foreign elements in the reports.

#### **4.2.3.3 Comparability**

One aspect of the analysis involves comparing the response of one group to the foreignised news reports with the response of another group of readers to the original news reports, the latter serving as a kind of 'control' group (as discussed in 4.2.1). Comparability between the two focus groups was therefore needed. The use of a discussion guide can help to achieve comparability between different focus groups in terms of the way the groups are conducted (Bryman, 2008 p.483). I drew up a discussion guide (see Appendix 4.1) and followed this in the pilot study. As the discussion guide worked well in the pilot study the only change I made before conducting the main study was to add two questions which I had asked ad-hoc during the pilot study and which had worked particularly well.

Saldanha and O'Brien highlight the difficulty of finding groups of individuals comparable enough to be able to treat one group as the control group (2013 p.15). The limited comparability of the participants in the focus groups is a weakness of the research design. However, while my research design has some parallels with the experimental design Saldanha and O'Brien describe (see 4.2.1), I am not using a control group in order to *measure* the effect of a change, but to help me interpret the response of the participants to the foreignised reports. Furthermore, as in the studies by Kruger (2013) and Mason (2009) mentioned above, and the focus group research completed by Szerszynski and Urry (2002) investigating the possible emergence of 'a culture of cosmopolitanism', the reader-response element of this research project is exploratory in nature and I do not intend to generalise the findings. The impact of the limited comparability on the validity of potential conclusions is accepted as part of the overall limitations of the reader-response investigation.

#### **4.2.3.4 Relying on reported data**

Listening to what people say in response to texts necessarily involves relying on reported data to a certain extent (Kruger, 2013 p.184). This is problematic because participants do not necessarily say what they actually think (Litosseliti, 2003 p.23; Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013 p.170), they might be more interested in telling you what they think you want to hear or what



they think will make them look best. Since I am using focus groups as a single method, my data set consists solely of reported data<sup>54</sup>; preventing the participants from wanting to say what they think I wanted to hear or what might make them appear intelligent was therefore of paramount importance. When I first began this research project I had the experience of participating in an eye-tracking experiment, where I had to complete a straightforward task on a PC. Under the observation of the researcher and knowing that my task performance would be scrutinised, I found myself making a 'stupid' error which I would never have done using the same computer programme at home. This experience gave me very valuable insight into how it feels to be a participant and made me keenly aware of the importance of creating as relaxed and natural an environment as possible to generating valid data.

#### **4.2.3.5 My position as the researcher/moderator**

As explained in the sections above, the focus group method was designed with the aim of making sure the participants felt as comfortable and relaxed as possible and therefore less likely to feel reluctant to admit to reading difficulty or unease with the foreign elements in the reports, or to voice an opinion not shared by other participants. Perhaps even more crucial to generating open and natural response was my position as the researcher/moderator. In order to reduce potential bias, the participants should not be aware I am a translator or that translation is a specific interest of the research project. If the participants had been aware of my profession or research interests they might have been prompted to think and talk about the role of translation in the news reports or indeed to respond positively to the use of translation and/or the foreign elements. I therefore asked my family members not to approach anyone who might know I am a translator or the topic of my research. As detailed above, the participants were only told that I am interested in understanding how people read foreign news (see Appendix 4.2).

Excluding participants with an above-average knowledge of France or French politics was aimed at avoiding having an 'expert' in the group, which might have prevented some participants from expressing opinions they felt were less valid or which might be recognised as 'wrong'. For the same reason, I needed to avoid being seen as an 'expert' on the subject matter of the reports myself. I therefore informed my family members that the participants should also

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<sup>54</sup> I did nevertheless find indications of reading ease in the data which do not come from the opinions expressed by the participants but the way they handle the foreign elements when making a point (see 8.2).

not know that I am a French speaker. I also did not mention to the participants in advance of the focus group that the news reports were about France (with the aim of attaching less significance to it) and when making the introduction told the participants that the reports they were about to read were all about Nicolas Sarkozy, and that that was because I needed to make a case study in order to help me select news reports to work with. During the focus groups, if any of the participants asked a question which required background information not available in the report<sup>55</sup>, I did not offer the answer. The fact that when these questions came up, they were directed to the group, rather than to me, indicates that I had successfully positioned myself as a non-expert.

As well as aiming to make the participants feel as comfortable as possible sharing their views without worrying about saying something 'stupid' in front of the other participants, it was also important that the participants should not feel concerned about saying something stupid in front of me, the researcher recording their every word to be examined in detail after the focus group. I used the period spent socialising before beginning the focus groups began to build a rapport with the participants and position myself as the sister/cousin/niece of their friend rather than a researcher. A careful balance between these two roles was needed of course, since I also needed to take command and get the focus group underway in a timely manner. I found an iPhone to work well as a recording device, not only in terms of the sound quality but also because the presence of this ubiquitous device on the table is entirely natural and therefore does not serve as a physical reminder of the academic research context.

#### **4.2.3.6 Using a single, qualitative method**

The data collected using the focus group method is purely qualitative. The possibility of triangulating the focus groups in a way that that would provide quantitative data was considered, with eye-tracking or a questionnaire as the potential methods. The benefit of triangulating the focus groups with a quantitative method would, ostensibly, be to complement the focus group data, allowing richer analysis and, perhaps (if the sample allowed), enabling me to generalise the findings. However, neither of the quantitative methods promised to deliver these benefits in practice. While eye-tracking or questionnaire data would have allowed reading

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<sup>55</sup> One example is 'R' in the Newcastle group asking if Jean Marie Le Pen is a man or a woman.

ease to be measured in some way, and thus have added value to the findings on the impact of the strategy changes on reading ease, they did not offer a way of gauging translation awareness or cosmopolitan openness (see also 4.1). Given the exploratory nature of the reader-response investigation, the qualitative focus group method is considered the most effective approach to answering the research questions.

### **4.3 The focus group data**

In this final part of the chapter I describe the methods and processes involved in the analysis of the focus group data. I first recount the need to find a flexible approach to the analysis workable for the data collected and the research questions the analysis seeks to answer (4.3.1). I then describe the stages of the analysis process in more detail (4.3.2). The chapter closes with a discussion of the challenges of data interpretation, and how I sought to overcome these challenges with my approach to the analysis (4.3.3).

#### **4.3.1 The method of analysis**

Focus groups, while uncommon as a tool for investigating the response of readers to texts (see 4.1), are commonly used in the social sciences more generally. In spite of the existence of a significant body of literature on focus group research methods, little has been written about methods of analysing the data collected from focus groups (Wilkinson, 2004 p.182). Bloor et al. recognise the variety of qualitative approaches to data analysis available to the focus group researcher, but only describe two, analytic induction and logical analysis (Bloor, Frankland et al., 2001). Furthermore, the approaches described involve a series of rigid steps which (talking from personal experience) can be discouraging to the researcher looking for a flexible and workable approach to their particular data set. At the end of the short section on analysis, the authors themselves stress that such systematic processes can be problematic in the case of focus group data, on account of its "interactive" nature (*ibid* p.70).

The approach taken to the data analysis in this research project can be loosely described as a content analysis – "At is most basic, content analysis simply entails inspection of the data for recurrent instances of some kind" (Wilkinson, 2004 p.184). Hsieh and Shannon highlight the flexibility content analysis offers the researcher (2005 p.1277). They identify three different content analysis approaches; the qualitative approach is defined as "a research method for the

subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns". Wilkinson observes that since "most analyses of focus group data report recurrent instances of some kind, and do so more or less systematically, they are essentially content analyses" (2004 p.184).

Content analysis is also found to be a helpful categorisation for the method of analysis used in this study since such an approach can involve both qualitative and quantitative elements (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Wilkinson, 2004 p.184). Miles et al. highlight the important role counting plays in the process of determining what is significant and relevant in qualitative analyses, whether the counting is made explicit or not:

[A] lot of counting goes on in the background when judgements of qualities are being made. When we identify a theme or pattern, we're isolating something that (a) happens a number of times and (b) consistently happens in a specific way. The 'number of times' and 'consistency' judgements are based on counting. (Miles et al., 2014 p.282)

Different themes are handled in different ways in the analyses presented in this thesis. In some cases I find a qualitative approach to be the most appropriate way to explore a theme; in others a quantitative approach seems the most fitting. On occasion, the analysis of a theme includes both a quantitative element (the number of instances of a theme) and a qualitative element (excerpts from the data illustrating and exploring the theme in more detail).

#### **4.3.2 The analysis process**

I transcribed the audio recordings from each of the six focus groups in full. While transcription is a time-consuming process, it is an important part of the analytical process, not only because having a thorough transcript to work from is the basis of "a detailed and rigorous analysis" (Bloor, Frankland et al., 2001 p.59), but because the time spent transcribing the data is time spent familiarising yourself with the data – familiarity being key to the process of theme identification (Dey, 1993 p.116). After producing the initial transcripts, and before uploading them to NVivo, I read through each transcript twice whilst listening to the audio, with the dual goal of catching any transcription errors as well as familiarising myself with the data. As a result of this stage of reading through the transcripts with the audio, when I came to the stage of coding the data in NVivo, I found that I had become so familiar with the data that I could very often 'hear' the participant saying the words in my head as I read the text. While completing this

stage of checking/reading through the transcripts, I made loose observations that were later identified as themes when coding the data.

After uploading the checked transcripts to NVivo, I began the process of theme identification. I read through the transcripts a further time, this time assigning themes to parts of the data identified as relevant using a technique which essentially equates to the 'Cutting and sorting' technique described by Ryan and Bernard: "identifying quotes or expressions that seem somehow important and then arranging the quotes/expressions into piles of things that go together" (Ryan & Bernard, 2003 p.94).

The next stage of the analysis process involved reviewing the bits of data extracted as instances of the particular theme(s). Comparing and reviewing all instances of a theme led to some instances being removed from that theme, as well as to the development of sub-themes. In addition to collating all instances of a theme (and counting the number of instances in total/per group) NVivo also allows the excerpts to be reviewed in the context of the original transcript, which helps avoid the danger of divorcing an excerpt of data from what was said before and after. While extracting excerpts of data from their context is necessary in order to compare instances of a theme, it is equally important to keep an excerpt of data firmly located in its original context in order to avoid losing its individual meaning as a unit of data (Dey, 1993 p.124).

After an initial "exploratory" stage, the themes themselves need to be reviewed in order to decide which to pursue in subsequent analyses (Ryan & Bernard, 2003 p.95). Many of the inductive themes were discarded at this stage on the basis that there were not enough instances across the groups to make the categorisation relevant or helpful, or because the theme was found to overlap with another one (the other theme being considered a more helpful way of categorising the observation). The way in which the remaining themes, i.e. those considered to amount to relevant observations, are operationalised in the analysis is explained in the following section. The level of interpretation required from the researcher in determining which themes are relevant, is also considered.

#### 4.3.3 Interpreting the data

Qualitative research methods require the researcher to interpret the data and make judgements about what is relevant in order to reach their findings (Ryan & Bernard, 2003 pp.103-104).

Qualitative researchers must come to terms with the fact that there is no one way of “seeing” the data (Dey, 1993 p.111) and that what they find relevant in the data will ultimately depend on what they are interested in finding out:

Distinctions must serve some analytic purpose which the analyst brings to the data. The actor acts; the analyst analyses—this is integral to their respective roles as subject and researcher. This dictum is not the whole truth, for its inversion may also be applicable—the actor may also analyse and the analyst may also act. But the analyst cannot escape responsibility for the analysis, which must be based on his or her own ideas about the data. (*ibid* p.104)

Indeed, a researcher with different questions to mine would undoubtedly find different parts of the data collected in the current study to be relevant. There is, for instance, a great deal of discussion in the groups which would be relevant to someone interested in the way media representations impact readers’ views of Nicolas Sarkozy.

The risk that the researcher will only see what they are looking for or expect to see in the data is heightened in projects such as the current one, which ultimately seeks to effect a change based on pre-existing ideas about why that change is needed. RQ3 sets out three areas of interest, translation awareness, reading ease and cosmopolitan openness (see 3.1.2); it is therefore impossible to get away from the fact that I am interested in looking at the impact of the foreignised strategy on these three aspects. Furthermore, since the foreignised strategy explicitly intends to increase translation awareness and the potential for cosmopolitan openness, without having a negative impact on reading ease, I cannot get away from the fact that I would ideally like to see this reflected in the data. This does not mean, however, that I *expected* to find the foreignised strategy to have been successful in achieving this aim; the intention of conducting the reader-response investigation was not to confirm that the foreignised strategy would achieve these aims in practice, rather the intention was to challenge this theoretical conclusion.

One of the benefits of using a focus group method is that in spite of having clearly defined areas of interest, the data collected did not need to target these areas exclusively, and I did not need

to pre-determine how exactly these themes would manifest themselves in the data. As a result, while the three areas of interest set out in RQ3 constitute three broad *a priori* themes, their sub-themes are frequently inductive. I borrow the terms *a priori* (theory-generated themes) and inductive (data-generated themes) from Ryan and Bernard (2003). I find the distinction helpful because it openly recognises the part played by *a priori* thought in theme development (p.94). The authors reference Dey (1993), who highlights the intrinsic connection between the themes a researcher identifies and their research questions – “A rich source of ideas for categories can be found in the questions in terms of which the research originated and developed” (p.105). From this perspective, rather than seeing the pre-definition of areas of interest as detrimental to the validity of the analysis, the identification of *a priori* themes can be seen to offer a compass with which to navigate the data.

As mentioned above, I did not know how exactly the data collected in the focus groups would allow me to explore the three areas of interest defined in RQ3; I was only roughly interested in looking at the impact of the foreignised strategy in relation to these three *a priori* themes. As a result, they are operationalised through sub-themes developed from observations made during the data collection, transcription and analysis. I look at instances where participants in the FOREIGNISED groups use a French accent as possible indications of translation awareness (see 7.1.3); I find instances in the data where participants read out (or avoid reading out) a foreignised part of a report to be a helpful way of exploring the theme of reading ease (see 8.2), and, relevant to the theme of cosmopolitan openness, look at levels of verbatim reproduction of the news reports as a possible indication of reader-engagement (see 9.1.2.1).

One way in which I seek to reduce the risk that I only find confirmation of the success of the foreignised strategy in the data is by looking for evidence to the contrary – I start off the analysis of the theme of translation awareness by looking for indications of non-awareness of the translation process in each of the groups (see 7.1.1). When the data appears to confirm (or at least not challenge) the fact that the foreignised strategy does not negatively impact reading ease, I consider what the data might have shown had the ORIGINAL groups been given the foreignised reports instead, by looking at how participants in the ORIGINAL groups handle language that is foreign to them (8.2). In the case of the theme of cosmopolitan openness, I did not feel the need to refute my expectations since, as I explain in Chapter 9, they were only

partially formed prior to the reader-response investigation. My experience of developing loosely formed ideas into the theme of cosmopolitan openness fits with Dey's account of how some pre-existing ideas "still require confirmation in the data" (1993 p.103).

The inductive themes are handled equally as cautiously as the *a priori* themes in the analysis since they are generated by observations made during the data collection, transcription and analysis and, as such, are initially identified as relevant to explore solely on the basis of my impressions of trends in the data. Systematic approaches to exploring these observations were therefore needed. In the case of the inductive theme 'Response to quotations' (7.2), I focus on the response in all groups to two key quotations in the reports. I also include a quantitative element exploring a further observation that participants in the ORIGINAL groups reproduced a key word from one of the quotations more than those in the FOREIGNISED groups. In the case of the inductive theme 'Reader engagement', I examine the accuracy of two observations behind the theme, that participants in the FOREIGNISED groups reproduced the reports verbatim less and made longer comments than the participants in the ORIGINAL groups, through quantitative analyses.



## Chapter 5

### Investigating translation strategy in global news

The translation practices of the global news agencies are acculturating by nature. This finding is well documented in the literature (see 2.2.2) and is therefore taken as a starting point for the current research project. It is, nonetheless, considered important to take a closer look at the translation strategies of the global agencies in order to clarify where exactly translation occurs in the news production process, what strategy looks like at the micro-level and the degree to which the translation decisions made by the agency journalists acculturate the news reporting. These points are the concern of the first research question asked in this thesis – in what ways and to what degree are the translation strategies currently employed by the global news agencies acculturating?

The first part of this chapter sets out a definition of translation strategy which works for the particular case of the global news agencies, explores methods of investigating translation strategy and explains the decision to follow a text-based approach (5.1). In the second part of the chapter the tool selected for the analysis of the Reuters corpus – Pedersen's strategies for rendering culture (Pedersen, 2005) – is introduced and the rationale for selecting this tool presented (5.2). In the third and final part of the chapter, the Reuters' corpus and *Handbook* are analysed in order to identify the ways in which and the degree to which the translation strategies currently being followed by Reuters are acculturating, and indeed, the ways in which they might be foreignising (5.3).

#### 5.1 Translation strategy in the case of the global news agencies

The translation strategies of the global news agencies are the central focus of this research project; as such, what I mean by 'strategy', which is defined in multiple ways in the translation studies literature, needs to be clarified. This section begins by setting out the definition of strategy adopted in this thesis and the reasons why it is considered a fitting terminological choice with reference to the news agencies (5.1.1). Popular methods of investigating translation strategy are then discussed (5.1.2). The section closes with a survey of the text-based typologies developed in the news translation literature.

### 5.1.1 Defining translation strategy in the case of the global news agencies

Although a crucial element of the newswriting process, the amount of translation involved in the production of global news reports is fairly limited. Reporting a foreign news event does not involve taking the content of a news report written in the language of the originating news locale and translating it into the target language (at least, not in general<sup>56</sup>). Agency journalists draw on multiple sources to produce a new text on the basis of the informational needs and expectations of the target audience (see 2.1.3). This is predominantly an intra-lingual process and the journalist is only required to perform translation when the news information must undergo some form of inter-lingual transfer in order to be understood by the target reader. Translation therefore, in the case of global news production, can be recognised as having occurred when the news report contains a foreign cultural concept or a quote spoken in a foreign language. Translation strategy, as the object of research, is limited to these two aspects of the newswriting process.

Davier makes a distinction between micro- and macro-level acculturation in the context of news translation (Davier, 2013 p.31). A macro-level strategy is one which can be said to have been applied to the text globally (an example Davier gives of a macro-level acculturation strategy is 'rewriting'), whereas micro-level strategies (the example given is 'omission') are applied at individual points. Chesterman makes a similar distinction (not specific to news translation) between "global" strategies and "local" strategies used to resolve "local problems" (1997 p.90-91). We can say that news reports are acculturated at a macro-level, or that the "global" strategy is acculturation, in the sense that they are oriented firmly toward the target reader, the goal being clear communication. Acculturation occurs at the micro-level when the local strategies used by the journalist-translator acculturate the text. Chesterman points out that the choice of a certain strategy is only "potentially conscious", and that the choice of a "global" strategy, for example whether the text should be translated in a foreignising or acculturating way, is less likely to be a conscious choice than the decisions made at the "local" level (*ibid* p.91).

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<sup>56</sup> There is an indication in *The Reuters Handbook of Journalism* and in the Reuters reporting available through the Factiva database that some reports published by Reuters are translations of reports written in another language, or include the translation of news content originally written in another language. However, this translated reporting represents only a small proportion of Reuters' day-to-day output (see 5.3.2 for a detailed discussion).

The definition of translation strategy borrowed in this thesis is that set out by Lörcher (1991):

A translation strategy is a potentially conscious procedure for the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language into another. (*ibid* p.76)

Lörcher's definition is fitting and helpful in this study for two reasons. Firstly, it limits the meaning of strategy to individual translation decisions made at the micro-level and thus allows me to specify that it is these micro-level strategies that are the focus of this research. This is considered a particularly important distinction to make in the case of global news translation since the news reports are not themselves translations, and cannot therefore be seen as the result of a macro-level translation strategy; the journalists do not set out a *global* strategy to follow in the production of a news report, they make *local* decisions when presented with a translation 'problem' to be solved. As discussed below, the conception of a translation strategy as problem-solving is the second reason Lörcher's definition is considered helpful for the particular case of global news translation.

Translation occurs in the news production process only at certain points in the text, where the journalist needs to make a foreign language quote or a foreign cultural concept intelligible to the target reader; the decisions journalists make at these points can be seen as the strategies used to resolve translation problems. Chesterman too regards translation strategy as "problem-centred"; he observes that translators only apply strategies when the text presents a problem (1997 p.89). Similarly, for Pedersen, a translation strategy is the translation choice a subtitler makes to deal with "translation problems" presented at certain "crisis points" in the text (Pedersen, 2005). The micro-level, problem-centeredness of Pedersen's approach is one of the reasons his typology of strategies for rendering culture is chosen as a tool for examining Reuters' current strategy. This choice is explained in more detail in section 5.2, following a discussion of some of the approaches to the investigation of translation strategy popular within translation studies.

#### **5.1.2 Methods of investigating translation strategy – a brief survey of the field**

Translation strategy is a common object of research across all areas of translation studies and is approached using a variety of methods. The following discussion considers some of these methods and their applicability to the aims of the current project.

One method of examining translation strategy is to ask the translator to talk through their decision-making while they are translating a text; this process creates a think-aloud protocol (TAP) which can then be analysed (Bernardini, 2003; Lörscher, 1992). Despite the popularity of this method in the wider field of translation studies, no research has been published to date which uses think-aloud protocol to determine the individual decisions news professionals make when translating news information. This is not surprising. Considering that think-aloud protocol typically slows down the translation process (Jääskeläinen, 2010), as well as the time constraints faced by news professionals, it seems unlikely that researchers would find a professional willing or able to spare the time to complete a think-aloud protocol.

Another method of investigating translation strategy, used most often in the study of literary translations, is to interview translators and ask them about their translation processes (Flynn, 2004; Williams & Chesterman, 2002 p.10). Interviews have been used by a number of researchers in order to get a clearer understanding from the journalists and editors involved of how news translation is practised (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Davier, 2014; Tsai, 2012). These interviews have contributed to the finding that translation is an invisible activity within the global news agencies in the sense that it is performed by journalists who do not make clear distinctions between translation and other editing practices (see 2.1.1). In her PhD research, Filmer interviewed Italy correspondents from a variety of British publications, and one Reuters journalist based in Rome<sup>57</sup> (Filmer, 2014). The interviewees were asked their views on the role of the foreign correspondent, translation and media representations of Berlusconi, as well as about translations of some of Berlusconi's more memorable quotations.

Filmer asks the Reuters journalist to describe Reuters' approach to translation generally, and the translation of Berlusconi's quotations in particular:

Reuters unwritten policy on translation is to choose neutral terms that have less local connotations and flavour so as not to be 'too English' or 'too American'. The basic aim is to convey the sense and tone. When we translate we try to get as close to the original sense as possible. (Filmer, 2014 p.336)

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<sup>57</sup> Coincidentally, the interviewee is James Mackenzie, who is bylined on the THUGOCRACY report in the Reuters corpus. As Filmer states, Mackenzie previously worked in the Paris bureau.

What is described by the Reuters journalist as “unwritten policy” is actually a very effective summary of Reuters’ *written* guidelines on the use of quotation. The *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* mentions the importance of preserving the sense of quotations three times and also states that when translation is involved, “care must be taken to ensure that the **tone** of the translation is equivalent to the **tone** of the original” (Reuters, 2014 p.4). What the interview indicates is that Reuters’ journalists are conscious of the policy set out in the *Handbook* and that the information that can be gained from reading this document should therefore accurately reflect current practice. It does not indicate that there is a wealth of tacit knowledge that can be accessed by asking agency journalists general questions about translation.

A text-based approach, involving the comparison of a translated (target) text against its original (source) text (see Chesterman, 1997, chapter 4), is perhaps the method used most commonly across the field of translation studies to examine translation strategy. When the researcher is interested in specific elements of the translation, parts of the target text are compared with corresponding parts of the source text. In addition to analysing the translations themselves, documentation such as the translation brief (Nord, 1997) and the commissioner’s style guide, which guide the translator towards a particular strategy, can also be examined. Researchers investigating the translation practices of the global news agencies have combined a text-based approach, involving comparison of translations with their source texts and style guide analysis, with interviews with agency staff (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009; Davier, 2014) or knowledge gained as an insider (Hursti, 2001). The findings of these researchers have informed the current project by elucidating the role of translation within the news agencies as well as perceptions of that role among agency staff.

The aims of the current investigation require a close analysis of Reuters’ English language news reports in order to explore what aspects of the newswriting process involve translation and how acculturating (or foreignising) the translation decisions made in the production of the news reports are. To this end I follow a text-based approach combining analysis of the reports and the *Reuters Handbook*. The news translation literature offers a number of typologies for the analysis of news reports; these tools, and their applicability for the analysis of the Reuters reports, are explored below.

### 5.1.3 Finding a tool for the analysis of strategy in news reports

Textual analysis is by far the most commonly used method of looking at the way news information is translated. A number of scholars have created their own typologies of the kinds of transformations that news undergoes when it is translated but these approaches tend to describe acculturation at the macro-level as being a result of the transformations they observe, rather than focusing on micro-level translation *problems* and the decisions made by the journalist-translators at these points. The discussion that follows considers some of these typologies and their potential applicability to the analysis of micro-level strategies in the Reuters corpus.

Perhaps the most well-known of the typologies is Bielsa and Bassnett's categories of "textual intervention" (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.64) published in the book *Translation in Global News* (see also 2.1.2). The model is designed to fit news translation practice generally and is developed on the basis of ethnographic fieldwork as well as textual analysis. The authors apply their typology to a French Agence France-Presse report about a Latin American news event; they compare the report produced for the French wire with the report produced for the Spanish wire and demonstrate how the news report has undergone each of the types of "textual intervention" in the process of being edited into a new report in a different language for a new target audience. The changes are presented as "the usual modifications of a translation that relies on a domesticating strategy which privileges fluency and transparency and conformance to the expectations of the target reader" (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.101).

Bielsa and Bassnett's typology clearly demonstrates the kinds of intra-lingual changes news information undergoes when it is "rewritten" for a new audience (*ibid* p.57); it is not limited to one language combination and one news organisation but rather seeks to clarify the complex role played by translation in global news production generally, which is complicated by the fact that translation practices vary across the agencies and across their individual bureaus. As such, it does not make clear where in a news report translation occurs or what an acculturating translation strategy looks like at the micro-level. If Bielsa and Bassnett's typology does not provide a useful framework for analysing the Reuters reports because of its generalisability to all cases, perhaps typologies derived from the analysis of single cases might. One such

typology is offered by Hursti (2001) who draws on her experience of working for both Reuters and the Finnish News Agency.

Hursti makes a helpful distinction between editing and translation processes:

**Editing:** that part of the news production process which involves transforming the language or the structure of the original message by using such text-surgical methods as deletion, addition, substitution and reorganization.

**Translation:** that part of the news production process which involves translating into another language those parts of the original message that are considered newsworthy in the receiving cultural environment (*ibid*)

The above definitions are helpful in clarifying that only some parts of a news agency text are translated and highlighting how acculturating (inter-lingual) translation practices occur alongside (intra-lingual) editing practices. Hursti's description of the translated parts as those "that are considered newsworthy" does not however seem perfectly applicable in the case of news agency reporting (at least in the case study used in this research).

Information must first and foremost be considered newsworthy to the target audience for the journalist to include it in the news report at all (Cotter, 2010 p.87). Newsworthy information however is not necessarily translated; it is more likely to be rewritten according to the needs of the target culture: "Those messages deemed unimportant will be cut out, and the remaining parts will be assembled, reorganized or rewritten into a news report in another language" (Chen, 2011 p.125). The journalist acts as a mediator between the source and target cultures at both an intra- and an inter-lingual level; translation is required only when inter-lingual transfer is needed (when a quote was spoken in a foreign language or a foreign cultural concept needs rendering in the target language). The aim of the analysis in this project is not to show how the French news events are *recontextualised* (see 2.1.2) for an English-speaking audience, but to clarify where exactly translation occurs in this process and how acculturating (or foreignising) the translation strategy followed is.

Like those in the typology developed by Bielsa and Bassnett discussed above, the categories in Hursti's typology (deletion, addition, substitution and reorganization) do not offer a helpful framework for the analysis I am conducting in this thesis because they do not allow me to focus in on the elements of the newswriting process which require the journalist to make translation

decisions, and which therefore constitute the object of study in an investigation of translation strategy. It is for the same reason that the categories Kang identifies (2007) do not constitute a helpful model for my analysis. Kang applies the categories “omission, addition, generalization, particularization and re-perspectivization” in order to identify ideological shifts in news discourse (*ibid* p.226) that occur as part of the wider process of news “recontextualization” (*ibid* p.220).

A typology developed by Franjié through analysis of translations of Arabic news reports published by the French news magazine *Courrier International* (Franjié, 2009) promises to offer a framework which is better suited to the task of assessing how foreignising or acculturating the strategy currently used by Reuters is. As detailed on the ‘About us’ section of its website<sup>58</sup>, *Courrier International* collates and translates news reports published by over 1,500 news sources across the globe. The journalist/translator’s task does not therefore involve rewriting a news story for a new audience; it ostensibly involves translation in the more traditional sense – the practice of translating a source text into the target language. However, it is where the translator goes beyond this task that Franjié is interested in; she is concerned that through strategies of omission, summarisation and explicitation<sup>59</sup> the French translations move too far from the Arabic source text, meaning that the original discourse is no longer fully represented (*ibid* p.70). As these kinds of strategies are typical of the intra-lingual editing practices which occur *alongside* translation in news agency reporting, Franjié’s categories do not fit the aims of the analysis to be conducted in this thesis.

In one of the earliest contributions to the field, Bani completed analysis of Italian translations of English press articles in the Italian news magazine *Internazionale* (Bani, 2006). Bani’s analysis is more relevant to the analysis in this project because she focuses specifically on the rendering of culture-specific information. However, Bani’s article does not offer a framework for analysing the strategies used by Reuters since she only lists four of the “most common” strategies – “Cutting or summary”, “Inclusion of explanations”, “Generalization” and “Substitution” (*ibid* p.42). There are similarities between Bani’s analysis and Pedersen’s model of strategies for rendering<sup>60</sup> cultural specificity in subtitling (Pedersen, 2005). Although not related to the

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<sup>58</sup> Retrieved 06.01.2015 from: <http://www.courrierinternational.com/page/qui-sommes-nous>

<sup>59</sup> L’omission, l’atténuation and l’explicitation in the original French.

<sup>60</sup> Pedersen describes the strategies as “rendering” rather than “translating” the culture-specificity since the strategies do not necessarily involve inter-lingual translation.



translation of news, Pedersen's model seems to offer the most relevant approach for looking at the translation strategies used by the global news agencies in this project; it is explored in detail in the following section.

## 5.2 Pedersen's strategies for rendering culture

Pedersen's typology is identified as a helpful tool for analysing the current Reuters strategy for three reasons. Firstly, the model looks at strategies for rendering cultural specificity. Secondly, Pedersen is concerned in particular with the degree of foreignisation or acculturation each of the strategies represents. Thirdly, the subtitler and agency journalist share common constraints upon their translation practice. These reasons are discussed in turn below.

### 5.2.1 A model for looking at cultural-specificity

Pedersen is interested in the way "Extralinguistic culture-bound references (ECRs)" are handled in subtitles. An ECR presents the subtitler a translation "problem" or "crisis point" (Pedersen, 2005 p.1) and it is the strategies used at these crisis points which are of interest. Although the object of Pedersen's analysis is subtitles, his definition of ECRs fits the cultural specificity which is a focus in the current news translation research:

Extralinguistic Culture-bound Reference (ECR) is defined as reference that is attempted by means of any **culture-bound** linguistic expression, which refers to an extralinguistic entity or process, and which is assumed to have a discourse referent that is identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the **encyclopedic knowledge** of this audience. (Pedersen, 2005 p.2, emphasis added)

One example Pedersen uses in his analysis is the American 'Prison board' (a source language ECR) being replaced with the Swedish term *kriminalvårdsstyrelsen*, designating a Swedish institution (a target language ECR) (Pedersen, 2005 p.7). The culture-boundness of the source language and target language ECRs is clear; the two terms designate two distinct institutions existing in two distinct cultural realities. That *banlieue*, which features often in the Reuters corpus, and 'suburb', its translation, designate two distinct realities, is equally true (see 3.3.3).

### 5.2.2 A model for assessing degrees of acculturation/foreignisation

Pedersen places the strategies he identifies along what he describes as a “Venutian scale”; at either end of the scale are Venuti’s strategies of foreignisation and acculturation<sup>61</sup> (see 2.2.1). Pedersen does not adopt Venuti’s terms, however; he considers the terms “counterproductive when translating from English into smaller languages” (2005 p.3), as in his English-Swedish case study. Pedersen replaces *foreignising* with ‘Source Language (SL) oriented’ and *acculturating* with ‘Target Language (TL) oriented’. As illustrated in Figure 5 below, six main strategies<sup>62</sup> for handling culture-specific terms (ECRs) are identified - **Retention**, **Specification**, **Direct Translation** (SL-oriented strategies) and **Generalization**, **Substitution** and **Omission** (TL-oriented strategies):

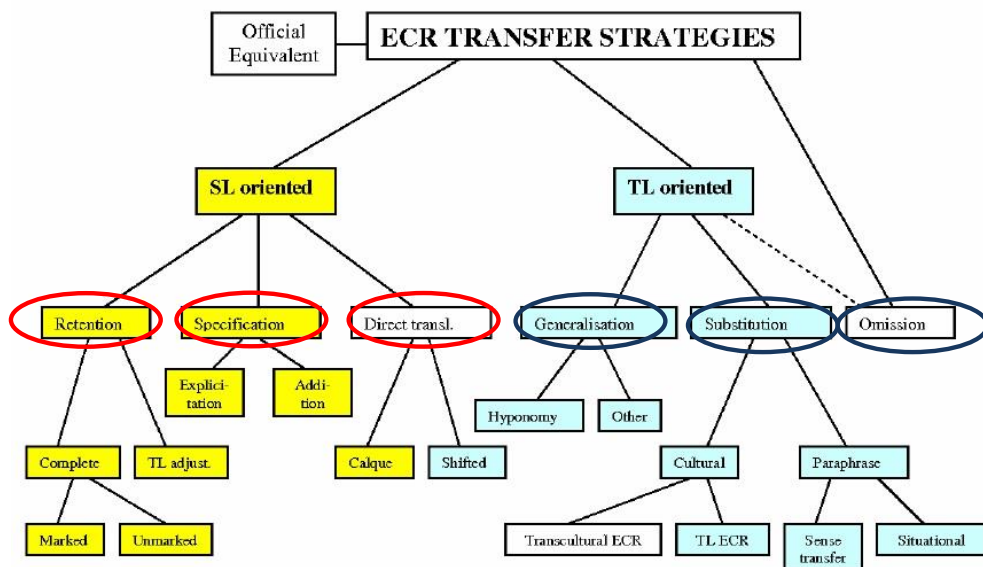


Figure 5 - Pedersen's "Typology of ECR transfer strategies" (2005)

With the exception of Omission – the practice of removing the ECR without replacing it in any way, the strategies are further categorised into types. ‘Retention’, preserving the ECR without adding anything to help make it intelligible to the target reader, is identified as the most SL-

<sup>61</sup> Pedersen uses ‘domestication’ rather than ‘acculturation’, replaced with the latter for clarity since it is adopted as an alternative in this thesis.

<sup>62</sup> The “Official Equivalent” strategy is set apart on the basis that when there is an official equivalent (Pedersen’s example is replacing Donald Duck with the Swedish official equivalent - ‘Kalle Anka’), the subtitler does not have a decision to make.

oriented (foreignising) of the strategies (Pedersen, 2005 p.4). The 'Cultural' type of the Substitution strategy, whereby the source text ECR is replaced with a TL (target language) ECR, is identified as the most TL-oriented (acculturating) of all the strategies (*ibid* p.7).

### **5.2.3 A model for considering constraints**

Pedersen observes that the options available to the subtitler are limited by the dual constraints of space – the space available on the screen, and time – the number of seconds the viewer will have to read the subtitle (*ibid* p.14). The news agency journalist faces similar constraints. The newswriting norm of brevity (Cotter, 2010, p.27) imposes a space constraint, particularly in the lead paragraph which should succinctly summarise the news story (Conboy, 2007 p.17), and the need to produce reports which can be read quickly (Bani, 2006 p.37) imposes a time constraint. The subtitler and news agency journalist both also face constraints upon their own time. Tight deadlines and low pay can limit the amount of time subtitlers have to dedicate to their task (Pedersen, 2005 p.15). News agency journalists are required to produce multiple reports a day and to work quickly to get stories onto the wire before the competition breaks the story. Both the subtitler and agency journalist therefore have very little time to mull over translation decisions.

Further constraints common to both subtitling and agency news production come in the form of national norms, company norms and considerations of what audiences can be expected to know and therefore understand. The translation strategies available to the subtitler are bound by subtitling norms in operation in the country the subtitles are being produced for as well as by the particular guidelines of the commissioning company (Pedersen, 2005 p.14). The strategies available to the news agency journalist are similarly constrained by newswriting norms in operation in the target country, for example the norm of using 'said' as the reporting verb (Cotter, 2010 p.26), as well as by the particular newswriting guidelines of the agency itself. As mentioned above, both practices involve producing translations that can be read quickly; which is in part achieved by ensuring the translation can be easily understood. The subtitler, for example, must consider whether the target audience can be expected to understand an ECR before deciding to retain the term without adding any form of explanation (Pedersen, 2005 p.15). Similar considerations are fundamental to newswriting practice generally, since the

reader of a news report, like the viewer of a film, may lose interest if they are not able to quickly understand (Cotter, 2010 p.119).

In the final part of this chapter which follows here, Pedersen's model is applied to the corpus of Reuters news reports, in order to see where the strategies Reuters journalists use in practice sit along Pedersen's Venutian scale, and the Reuters *Handbook* is analysed in order to build a picture of the strategies called for at the institutional level.

### **5.3 Reuters' current translation strategy**

In the first part of this chapter, I clarify that there are two elements of translation involved in the global agencies newswriting processes – the rendering of culture-specific information and foreign language quotations, and that it is therefore these two elements which are the object of study when investigating the translation strategies of the global news agencies. In the first part of the analysis here the strategies along Pedersen's (2005) 'Venutian scale' (see 5.2 for a detailed account) are applied to the Reuters corpus. The focus is on the micro-level decisions made by journalists in practice and the degree to which these decisions result in acculturation. Since Pedersen's typology is specifically concerned with the rendering of culture-specific information, it is only this element of the current strategy that can be explored in this analysis. The second part of the analysis looks at the Reuters *Handbook* in order to identify the translation strategies called for in the agency's newswriting guidelines. The limited amount of advice on translation in the *Handbook* relates to the translation of foreign language quotation, the focus of this discussion is therefore the strategies the journalists are instructed to use when it comes to reporting what was originally said in a foreign language.

#### **5.3.1 Analysing the Reuters corpus - with a focus on culture-specific terms**

Having presented the rationale for applying Pedersen's taxonomy in order to examine Reuters' current translation strategy (5.2), in the analysis below the categories along Pedersen's Venutian scale are applied to the Reuters corpus at points where the journalist has needed to render a culture-specific term – or "Extralinguistic culture-bound reference" (ECR) (Pedersen,

2005). Each of the six<sup>63</sup> main strategies identified in Pedersen's corpus of subtitles can be identified in the Reuters corpus. The strategies are discussed in turn below, in the order they appear along Pedersen's 'Venutian scale', from most SL-oriented (foreignising) to most TL-oriented (acculturating). As Pedersen observes, the strategies are sometimes used in combination (*ibid* p.9). The CRIME POLICIES report, which was included in the corpus for the pilot study and replaced by the SECURITY report for the main study, is also included in the analysis.

For each of the strategies, a table is presented showing all of the instances of its use identified in the corpus. The first two columns present the French ECR and its 'Source', which is most often a French Reuters report. The French Reuters reports are identified as likely sources on the basis of certain similarities with the English reports, as well as the fact that the French reports were published earlier the same day, seemingly by a colleague working in the same office, and cover the same news event as the English report. As is typical of newswriting generally, much of the content in the English reports is context and background provided for the benefit of the (non-French) audience, thus the ECR does not always have a 'source' at all. In every case, while the journalists have rendered a French cultural concept in English, it is not possible to know if that cultural concept originated from a particular source, or is simply used by the journalist. Indeed, as is typical when looking at news reports, it is only in the case of quotations that it is possible to compare a translation against a clear source. The full versions of the French Reuters reports, as well as other sources identified in the analysis, are available in appendices 2.2.1 - 2.2.5, along with an account of the analysis which led me to identify these as possible sources.

#### **5.3.1.1 Retention**

'Retention' is the most foreignising of all the strategies in Pedersen's taxonomy; "it allows an element from the SL to enter the TT" (Pedersen, 2005 p.4). Retention is used only once in the Reuters corpus; in combination with 'Addition', a subtype of the 'Specification' strategy, which

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<sup>63</sup> As stated above, the seventh strategy, 'Official Equivalent', is not included in Pedersen's 'Venutian scale' on the basis that when there is an official equivalent for an ECR, there is no translation decision to be made. The 'Official Equivalent' strategy is therefore not relevant in the Reuters corpus analysis.

also falls under the SL-oriented branch of Pedersen's taxonomy. In the 'Addition' strategy, "the added material is latent in the ECR" (*ibid* p.5).

French ECR	Source	English translation	Location
(quartiers/cités)	None - context	the "quartiers" or "cités" <sup>64</sup> , as the estates are known	THUGOCRACY (para 14)

**Table 9 - Summary of uses of the Retention strategy in the Reuters corpus**

Towards the end of the THUGOCRACY report, paragraph 14 provides context on where the riots being reported are taking place:

The "quartiers" or "cités", as the estates are known, are a world away from the prosperous centres of cities like Paris, blighted by high crime and unemployment, poor transport links and run-down housing.

The two ECRs – *quartier* and *cité* – are retained and the remainder of the paragraph constitutes an addition of information that is "latent" in the ECRs; the information that a French audience can be expected to possess in relation to these terms that the target audience is unlikely to. The journalist has made a conscious choice to retain foreign language here, which has the result of foreignising the text. The addition of "as the estates are known" ensures the ECRs are intelligible to the reader and as such reduces the foreignising effect of the 'Retention' strategy.

Rather than categorising the instance above as use of the 'Retention' strategy in combination with the 'Addition' strategy, I might have categorised it simply as the 'Addition' type of the strategy; the reason I did not is that I felt a distinction needed to be made between this instance and those seen in Table 12 below. All the instances of 'Addition' involve the rendering of the name of an institution or place rather than foreign language; the effect of retaining these names in the report is therefore less foreignising.

### 5.3.1.2 Specification (Addition)

'Specification' is positioned next to 'Retention' in Pedersen's model, as the second most foreignising of all the strategies. Like the 'Retention' strategy, 'Specification', also involves "leaving the ECR in its untranslated form" (Pedersen, 2005 p.4). The distinction between the

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<sup>64</sup> The acute accent is missing from the 'e' in the word *cité*. No accents are used in any of the reports in the corpus, which might be explained by the following advice in the AP stylebook (under 'accent marks'): "Do not use any diacritical marks on general wires because they garble in many newspaper computers" Goldstein, N., Ed. (2007). *The Associated Press Stylebook*, 42nd Ed. New York, Basic Books, p.5.

two strategies is that in the 'Specification' strategy the ECR is made more specific through the use of either 'Explication' or 'Addition'.

Adding a person's first name is one example given for the 'Explication' subtype, which would include specifying Sarkozy's first name where the French report does not. By contrast, adding 'President' in front of his name (as seen in the very first line of the SECURITY report) would qualify as 'Addition'. The example Pedersen gives for the latter strategy is specifying 'cricket player' in front of the name 'Ian Botham' (*ibid* p.5). Including a person's first name or title for the benefit of the target audience to whom that person is less familiar is considered standard newswriting practice and therefore not constituting a translation decision. Such instances are therefore overlooked in the analysis and no instances of 'Explication' identified.

In the 'Addition' type of the 'Specification' strategy, "the translator intervenes to give guidance to the TC audience" by adding information that "is latent in the ECR, as part of the sense or connotations of the ECR (Pedersen, 2005 p.5); i.e., adding information that would not be considered necessary to include for a French audience. Six instances of the strategy are identified in the Reuters corpus:

French ECR	Source	English translation	Location
Clichy-sous-Bois	FR report (para 9)	northeastern Clichy-sous-Bois suburb of the French capital, where many immigrants and poor families live in high-rise housing estates notorious for youth violence	CRIME POLICIES (para 3)
(La Courneuve)	None - context	the northern area of La Courneuve	CRIME POLICIES (para 14)
(Vitry-sur-Seine)	None - context	the eastern suburb of Vitry-sur-Seine	CRIME POLICIES (para 14)
Henri IV/ENA	Speech transcript	the country's elite institutions, such as the Henri IV high school or the ENA civil servant training school	SECURITY (para 10)
Villiers-le-Bel	FR report (para 5 - quote)	the suburb of Villiers-le-Bel, to the north of Paris	THUGOCRACY (para 2)
Florange (Moselle)	FR report C (lead)	Florange <sup>65</sup> in eastern France	DUMMY (para 8)

**Table 10 - Summary of uses of the Addition type of the Specification strategy in the Reuters corpus**

In all but one of the instances detailed above, the ECR is a place name; in two of these instances the added information is purely geographic – 'La Courneuve' becomes 'the northern

<sup>65</sup> Florange is misspelled as 'Floranges' in the original English report downloaded from Factiva.

area of La Courneuve' and Florange (Moselle)<sup>66</sup> becomes 'Florange in eastern France'. The other instances are made more specific to the TC reader by also transferring part of the "sense or connotations" of the ECR, as well as the geographic location. In the THUGOCRACY report for example, it is specified that Villiers-le-Bel is a 'suburb' as well as in the 'north of Paris'. In the CRIME POLICIES report by comparison, the sense and connotations attached to the place name 'Clichy-sous-Bois' are specified to an even greater degree: "the northeastern Clichy-sous-Bois suburb of the French capital, where many immigrants and poor families live in high-rise housing estates notorious for youth violence".

The only instance where the 'Addition' type of the 'Specification' strategy is used to render an ECR that is not a place name comes in the SECURITY report. The journalist includes part of a speech where Sarkozy mentioned several educational institutions that, because he refers to by name only, he expects his audience to be familiar with. Paraphrasing Sarkozy's words, the journalist includes two of the institutions mentioned by Sarkozy; *Henri IV* becomes 'the Henri IV high school' and *ENA* becomes 'the ENA civil servant training school'. The underlined parts constitute information that has been added to specify to a non-French reader what the French reader is expected to know. It is the decision to include the names of these institutions that introduces an element of foreignisation to the report. The journalist could have omitted the names and not therefore exposed the reader to the foreign cultural-specificity, a decision which would have qualified as use of the 'Paraphrase' type of the (more TL-oriented) 'Substitution' strategy (see 'Substitution' below).

### 5.3.1.3 Direct translation

After 'Retention' and 'Specification', 'Direct translation' is the last of the "minimum change strategies" (Pedersen, 2005 p.9) – those under the SL-oriented branch of Pedersen's taxonomy. The strategy is described as follows: "nothing is added, or subtracted. There is no effort made to transfer connotations or guide the TT audience in any way" (*ibid* p.5).

French ECR	Source	English translation	Location
immigration choisie	FR report (para 11 - quote)	selected immigration	IMMIGRATION (para 12)

**Table 11 - Summary of uses of the Direct translation strategy in the Reuters corpus**

<sup>66</sup> Including Moselle (the name of the department Florange is located in) as the French report does would not clarify the location unless the reader knew the department to be in eastern France.



In the IMMIGRATION report the journalist translates the name of the French immigration policy (*immigration choisie*) directly, resulting in the translation 'selected immigration'. Although a similar immigration system exists in Australia<sup>67</sup>, where immigrants are selected for residence on the basis of certain criteria, there is no equivalent in the UK, meaning that for a significant part of Reuters' target audience, the concept itself is likely to be unfamiliar. The use of the 'Direct translation' strategy does not help to make the concept familiar to the reader, particularly since it qualifies as a 'Calque' rather than a 'Shifted' direct translation (as explained below).

Pedersen observes that the 'Direct translation' strategy can be either SL-oriented, if it involves a 'Calque translation', or TL-oriented, if it involves a 'Shifted translation' (*ibid* p.5). The choice of 'selected immigration' in the IMMIGRATION report is a good example of this. The IMMIGRATION report is the only Reuters report I could find that uses the translation 'selected immigration' to refer to France's immigration policy; the translation 'selective immigration', however, is used in 24 Reuters reports<sup>68</sup>; including in a report published five days prior to the publication of the IMMIGRATION report. The translation 'selected immigration' fits the description for a 'Calque' direct translation, on the basis that it is "the result of stringent literal translation and it may appear exotic to the TT audience" (*ibid* p.5). The translation 'selective immigration', however, would qualify as a 'Shifted direct translation', one where the ECR is made "more unobtrusive" (*ibid* p.5). The journalists' choice of the calque 'selected immigration' over the shifted 'selective immigration' may be an oversight rather than a deliberate choice; nonetheless, the result is a degree of foreignisation in the translation.

#### 5.3.1.4 Generalization

'Generalization' is the first, and therefore least acculturating, of the strategies under the TL-oriented branch of Pedersen's taxonomy. Pedersen's description of the 'Generalization' strategy is: "replacing an ECR referring to something **specific** by something more general" (2005 p.6, emphasis added). The strategy is TL-oriented on the basis that the source text ECR is adjusted in some way to fit the target text. In contrast to 'Specification', when 'Generalization' is used the

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<sup>67</sup> The 'Migration Programme' – Retrieved 17.01.2015 from: <https://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/01backgd.htm>

<sup>68</sup> Factiva search completed 17.01.2015 for 'selected immigration AND France' and 'selective immigration AND France' across ALL Reuters source and ALL DATES, the results were checked manually for relevance.

ECR is made less specific; the meaning communicated to the target culture reader is not therefore as rich as the meaning communicated to the source culture reader.

When analysing the Reuters corpus, I found it difficult at first to distinguish between instances of 'Generalization' and instances of 'Substitution' (see 5.3.1.5 below). I was not sure whether there was a relevant distinction to be made between the two strategies in the case of translated news. Upon further reflection of the cases of 'Generalization'/'Substitution' identified, I did find a distinction relating to the specificity of the ECR. An ECR is, by definition, culturally specific (or 'culture-bound' to use Pedersen's words, see 5.2.1); however, it is possible to identify ECRs with a heightened degree of specificity. Six such instances are identified in the Reuters corpus:

French ECR	Source	English translation	Location
CRS	FR report (para 14 - quote)	riot police	CRIME POLICIES (para 12)
(quartiers sensibles)	None - context	problem neighbourhoods	CRIME POLICIES (para 15)
(CRS)	None - context	specially trained police	CRIME POLICIES (para 15)
jeunes des cités	Le Parisien - quote	suburban youths	CRIME POLICIES (para 17)
les quartiers difficiles	FR report B (para 4)	difficult areas	SECURITY (para 4)
quartiers en difficulté	Speech transcript		
CRS	FR report C (lead)	riot police	DUMMY (para 9)

Table 12 - Summary of uses of the Generalization strategy in the Reuters corpus

In 3.3.3 I describe the negative representation of France's *banlieues* in the French media. The use of certain pejorative expressions involving the terms *banlieue*, *cité* and *quartier* contributes to this representation. Four examples of these expressions can be seen in the 'French ECR' column in Table 12 above. The first of these, *quartiers sensibles*, is derived from the denomination *Zone Urbaine Sensible* (ZUS), assigned by the French government to areas constituting "priority targets for urban policy, according to local factors relating to the difficulties that the inhabitants of these territories are experiencing"<sup>69</sup>. The expression is rendered as 'problem neighbourhoods' in the CRIME POLICIES report. The expressions *quartiers difficiles* (lit. 'difficult *quartiers*') and *quartiers en difficulté* (lit. *quartiers* in difficulty) found in the French sources for the SECURITY report, and rendered as 'difficult areas', are variations on *quartiers*

<sup>69</sup> English definition from L'INSEE (the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies), Retrieved 16.12.2014 from: <http://www.insee.fr/en/methodes/default.asp?page=definitions/zone-urbaine-sensible.htm>

*sensibles*. The fourth expression, *jeunes des cités* (lit. the youth/young people<sup>70</sup> of the *cités*) reflects representations of the youth population in particular as perpetrators of violence and crime in these 'difficult' areas (Glasze, Pütz et al., 2012 p.1205). It is rendered as 'suburban youths' in the CRIME POLICIES report.

The remaining three instances of the 'Generalization' strategy in the corpus all involve the acronym CRS, by which the French riot police (Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité) is commonly known. CRS is also identified to have a heightened degree of cultural-specificity. The CRS are reserve forces created in 1945 to provide back up for the police when needed; they live in barracks and are assembled in the case of internal disturbances and as a result are notorious in France<sup>71</sup>. CRS is rendered twice in the CRIME POLICIES report, in the first instance (paragraph 12) as 'riot police', in the second (paragraph 15) as 'specially trained police'. The third instance is in the DUMMY report, where the translation is also 'riot police'.

All six instances discussed above fit the category 'Generalization' on the basis that "something specific" is replaced by "something more general" (Pedersen, 2005 p.5). The ECR is replaced by a general description and the result is that a significant part of the sense and connotations is lost. The acculturating nature of the 'Generalization' strategy can be clearly seen in the six instances identified; the ECR is removed entirely where it could have been retained, along with the more general description given, as in the instances of the 'Addition' type of 'Specification' seen in 5.3.1.3 above. Retaining the ECR would signal its cultural-specificity to the reader, even if it were not conveyed by the general description. Since no effort is made to transfer any of the particular meaning attached to the ECRs, the use of the 'Generalization' strategy does not, on the basis of this analysis, appear to be any less TL-oriented than the 'Substitution' strategy, which comes next on Pedersen's 'Venutian scale'.

### 5.3.1.5 Substitution

"This strategy involves removing the ST ECR and replacing it with something else, either a different ECR or some sort of paraphrase, which does not necessarily involve an ECR"

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<sup>70</sup> The English term 'youth' itself has negative connotations that make it a fitting translation for '*jeunes*' in such an expression; I give the more neutral translation 'young people' in the interest of conveying the denotative, rather than the connotative, meaning.

<sup>71</sup> *Learning from each other, The Guardian*, 8 November, 2005. Retrieved 19.01.2015 from: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/nov/08/france.mainsection1>

(Pedersen, 2005 p.6). 'Substitution' is identified more than any other strategy in the Reuters corpus.

In 5.3.1.4 above I explain that I make a distinction between instances of 'Generalization' and instances of 'Substitution' on the basis of the degree of specificity of the ECR. Whereas the six instances of 'Generalization' all involve the use of a term/expression referring to something very specific, the ECRs identified as having been rendered using the 'Substitution' strategy are, in a sense, less specific. This is reflected in the fact that the 'Generalization'-rendered ECRs all have clear sources, whereas half of the 'Substitution'-rendered ECRs do not. For example, in Table 13 below, the ECR *quartiers* is rendered as 'neighbourhoods'. In the instances of the 'Substitution' strategy identified below, the definition of the 'Generalization' strategy – "something specific" being replaced by "something more general" (Pedersen, 2005 p.5) – does not quite fit.

Pedersen identifies two different types of 'Substitution', 'Cultural substitution' and 'Paraphrase'; in neither case does the replacement constitute "something more general". In the 'Cultural' type "the ST [source text] ECR is removed, and replaced by a different ECR" (Pedersen, 2005 p.6); the 'Paraphrase' type "involves rephrasing the ECR" (*ibid* p.8). Pedersen breaks down the 'Paraphrase' type into two further sub-types, 'Paraphrase with sense transfer', where "the ST ECR is removed, but its sense or relevant connotations are kept by using a paraphrase" (*ibid* p.8), and 'Situational paraphrase', where "every sense of the ST ECR is completely removed, and replaced by something that fits the situation" (*ibid* p.9). Neither sub-type is identified in the Reuters corpus; however, as I explain below, it seems likely that we might find instances of the 'Paraphrase' strategy used to render an ECR within a quotation.

Pedersen explains that the 'Paraphrase with sense transfer' strategy "would mainly be used for solving ECR crisis points that are too complex for Generalization or Specification" (*ibid* p.8) and that the 'Situational paraphrase' strategy "seems to be used a lot when it comes to rendering ECRs in puns" (*ibid* p.9). These points bring Sarkozy's 'Karcher' quote to mind (detailed in 3.3.2). The quotation appears once in the Reuters corpus, in the SECURITY report. The translation is not included in the analysis here because it does not (technically) involve an ECR; Karcher (an industrial cleaner) is a global brand and therefore not 'culture-bound'. It is however

commonly treated as an ECR when rendered in English translations. In the *Mail Online* version of the quote seen in 3.3.2 the brand is rendered as ‘a power hose’; in the SECURITY report it is rendered as ‘steamblaster’ (see Appendix 2.1.2). If ‘Karcher’ could be considered an ECR, both these renderings would qualify as instances of the ‘Paraphrase with sense transfer’ strategy. In the case of a pun being used in a quotation, it seems very likely that we would find the ‘Situational paraphrase’ strategy used in news reporting.

Table 13 presents 14 instances of the ‘Substitution’ strategy in the Reuters corpus. In each of the 14 instances the ST ECR is either *banlieue*, *cité* or *quartier*. Furthermore, every rendering of *banlieue* includes the word ‘suburb’ and every rendering of *cité* and *quartier* includes either the words ‘housing estate’ or ‘neighbourhood’. Presenting the rendering of the French terms as instances of ‘Substitution’ at all requires the reader to agree that they are culture-bound, that they designate a particular socio-cultural reality in France and therefore constitute a source text (ST) ECR. Presenting the translation solutions as instances of ‘Cultural substitution’ also requires the reader to agree that the English ‘substitutes’ for the French ECRs are themselves ECRs. This is a rather complicated matter since the Reuters journalists are not addressing a single target culture; the terms are expected to be understood by a global, English-speaking audience. ‘Housing estate’, for instance, refers to a different cultural reality depending on which country the housing estate is in and will therefore mean different things to different audiences.

However, the very fact that the terms have cultural realities attached, even if that reality varies by culture, warrants regarding the terms as ECRs. For the purposes of the current analysis, the uses of ‘neighbourhood’, ‘suburb’ and ‘housing estate’ in Table 13 below are considered to be instances of a source text ECR being replaced by a different ECR (Pedersen, 2005 p.6), and therefore instances of the ‘Cultural’ type of the ‘Substitution’ strategy. In six of the 14 instances the strategy is used in combination with the ‘Addition’ type of the ‘Specification’ strategy (see 5.3.1.2 above). The instances of ‘Substitution’ + ‘Addition’ are presented in the bottom six rows:

French ECR	Source	English translation	Location
<b>Substitution</b>			
La banlieue parisienne	FR report (lead)	a Paris suburb	CRIME POLICIES (lead)
quartiers	FR report (para 3 - quote)	neighbourhoods	CRIME POLICIES (para 6)

cités/quartiers	Quote (unknown source)	housing estates	CRIME POLICIES (para 19)
Banlieues	FR report B (headline)	suburb	SECURITY (headline)
(banlieues)	None - context	the suburbs	SECURITY (para 13)
en banlieue parisienne	FR report (lead)	a Paris suburb	THUGOCRACY (lead)
cit��	FR report (para 5 - quote)	housing estate	THUGOCRACY (para 16)
banlieues	None - context	Paris suburbs	DUMMY (para 12)
<b>Substitution + Addition</b>			
les banlieues	FR report B (lead)	France's poor suburbs, residential areas on the outskirts of big cities	SECURITY (lead)
(cites/quartiers)	None - context	the ethnically diverse neighbourhoods of high-rise housing blocks	SECURITY (para 2)
(cit��/quartier <sup>72</sup> )	None - context	an impoverished suburb	SECURITY (para 14)
(banlieues)	None - context	poor French suburbs	THUGOCRACY (para 5)
(cit��s/quartiers)	None - context	the grim housing estates that ring many French cities	THUGOCRACY (para 7)
(banlieues)	None - context	poor suburbs	THUGOCRACY (para 8)

**Table 13 - Instances of Substitution & Substitution + Addition in the Reuters corpus**

In the headline of the SECURITY report *banlieue* is directly replaced by 'suburb'; the result is *Sarkozy pledges to beef up French suburb security*. In the lead paragraph however, the 'Substitution' strategy is combined with 'Addition'; *banlieue* is replaced with "France's poor suburbs, residential areas on the outskirts of big cities". The addition means that readers' understandings are not limited to their understanding of the target culture concept (what they understand 'suburbs' to mean). The effect of combining the 'Cultural substitution' strategy with 'Addition' is, arguably, less acculturating than using 'Cultural substitution' alone, since providing the reader the additional information about the source-culture context allows them to recognise and engage with the foreign cultural context; it has the effect of 'sending the reader abroad' (see 2.2.1.1).

Of course, the journalist does not have space to add the information in the headline and introduces the explanation the next time the ECR appears. As seen in the table above, the degree of information added when using a 'Substitution' + 'Addition' varies. In paragraph 14 of the SECURITY report the journalist describes Sarkozy's "first visit to an impoverished suburb

<sup>72</sup> The French ECR, for which there is no source, is entered as cit  /quartier rather than 'banlieue' because the journalist describes 'an impoverished suburb', suggesting they are referring to a particular place, when they might otherwise have described Sarkozy's visit to the 'suburbs' of Paris.

since he was elected last May”, adding only “impoverished” to the ECR<sup>73</sup>. There are two similar types of additions in the THUGOCRACY report, “poor suburbs” and “poor French suburbs”. Since the journalist has added a single word to qualify ‘suburb’ in each of these cases, it is likely that their use of the ‘Addition’ strategy has been limited by space constraints. While the single word addition does give the reader some indication that the socio-cultural reality being described is distinct from the reality ‘suburb’ would otherwise connote, a more foreignising strategy involving retaining the French ECR might allow more to be communicated in fewer words.

#### 5.3.1.6 Omission

‘Omission’ is defined as “replacing the ST ECR with nothing” (Pedersen, 2005 p.9). Instances of ‘Omission’ in the Reuters corpus are not examined because they are a fundamental feature of global newswriting; part of what Clausen terms the *domestication* (2004) of news (termed *recontextualisation* in the news translation literature, see 2.1.2), rather than indicative of an *acculturating* translation strategy. The strategy, whether termed ‘omission’ (Davier, 2013; Franjić, 2009; Kang, 2007; Loupaki, 2010), ‘deletion’ (Hursti, 2001), ‘cutting or summary’ (Bani, 2006) or ‘elimination of unnecessary information’ (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009) has been widely identified as an intra-lingual feature of the process of recontextualising news for a new audience in a new language.

If information in the French report does not appear in the English, it is not because the information presented a ‘translation problem’ as such. Journalists and editors make the decision not to include information either because it is not deemed to be of sufficient interest to the target audience or because the reader is not expected to possess the background knowledge needed to interpret the information, as reflected in Davier’s definition of the strategy in the context of news translation:

L’omission désigne tout type de suppression d’informations jugées superflues pour le lectorat soit parce qu’elles sont déjà connues, soit parce qu’elles apportent trop

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<sup>73</sup> The instance serves as a good example of how it can be difficult to determine whether a rendering is an instance of ‘Generalization’ or of ‘Substitution’. In this case, no source is identified. Had there been a source, categorising this instance would have been more straightforward. If the source specified which cité/quartier Sarkozy had visited, then rendering this information as ‘an impoverished suburb’ would constitute a generalization. However, as there is no source, it is reasonable to assume that the journalist just wanted to communicate that Sarkozy had made his first visit to the *banlieue*, and that the particular cité/quartier was not considered relevant. From this perspective, there is nothing specific to generalise.

de détails risquant de compliquer la compréhension [*Omission refers to any form of the removal of information considered unnecessary for the reader, either because it is already known, or because the level of detail it involves risks comprehension difficulty*]. (Davier, 2013 p.23, my translation)

One example of 'Omission' (defined this way) in the corpus is that the DUMMY report does not tell readers what the journalist asked Sarkozy in order to prompt the response reported in the article, whereas the Reuters French report (see Appendix 2.2.4) gives the question in full, perhaps because the non-French reader cannot be expected to have the necessary background knowledge on the issue being addressed in the journalist's question (the authorities' use of tear gas at a demonstration). To give another example, in the THUGOCRACY report the journalist, having included all of the quotes from Sarkozy's speech reported in the first five paragraphs of the French report, omits the comments Sarkozy made about the need for the police to build a '*relation de confiance*' (relationship of trust) with the public from the part of the speech reported on in paragraphs 6 and 7.

In paragraph 7 of the Reuters French report Sarkozy is reported to have called for the police to avoid '*tutoiement*' (the use of the informal 'tu' address). '*Tutoiement*' fits Pedersen's definition of a "Monocultural ECR" on the basis that it is "less identifiable to the majority of the relevant TT audience than it is to the relevant ST audience, due to differences in encyclopedic knowledge" (Pedersen, 2005 p.11). From this perspective, the information in paragraph 7 of the French report represents a "translation crisis point" (*ibid*) requiring a translation solution. Arguably, therefore, the cutting of this information does constitute an instance of Pedersen's 'Omission' strategy. However, as detailed above, the THUGOCRACY report only includes information from the first five paragraphs, which suggests that it is not included because it is considered less pertinent (reflected by its positioning further down the pyramid structure – see 1.1). Furthermore, if the information was considered newsworthy enough to include, the ECR *tutoiement* could have been rendered using one of the other strategies seen in the analysis, such as 'Generalization' or 'Substitution', without it causing the reader any comprehension difficulty.

The above analysis is complemented in the section that follows by an analysis of the Reuters *Handbook*.



### 5.3.2 The Reuters *Handbook* – with a focus on foreign language quotations

Identifying in what ways and to what degree Reuters' current translation strategies are acculturating involves looking at how journalists are instructed to handle the elements of translation involved in their newswriting task as well as how they are handled in practice. As shown in the discussion that follows, the Reuters *Handbook* does not include much information relating to translation, but the information it does include is related predominantly to quotation. The *Handbook* additionally includes guidance on the use of foreign language phrases. This is in keeping with the observation that it is predominantly when needing to render culture-specific terms or quotations spoken in a foreign language that agency journalists are required to perform translation (see 5.1.1).

The news agencies' style guides function internally as guidelines on how the agencies' reports should be written and externally as general guidelines on good newswriting practice. The AP Stylebook, known as the "journalist's bible", is a well-established authority for journalists in the US (Cotter, 2010 p.192) and beyond<sup>74</sup>. Bielsa and Bassnett draw on the agencies' style guides as a key source of information on the agencies' translation practices; the acculturating nature of global news reporting is primarily observed and evidenced in the agencies' style guides (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 pp.70-71). The Reuters *Handbook of Journalism* is available to download free from the Reuters website<sup>75</sup>; the first part, 'Standards and values', details the general principles governing Reuters journalism, including the '10 Absolutes of Reuters journalism' and important information relating to newswriting fundamentals such as accuracy and sourcing. The *Handbook* includes the 'The Reuters General Style guide' which provides more specific information relating to, for example, the use of acronyms.

One of the factors contributing to the invisibility of translation practices within global news agencies is the fact that translation is not treated as a separate task (see 2.1.1). This invisibility is evident in the Reuters *Handbook of Journalism*, on the basis that it does not identify translation as a separate task performed by its journalists (Bielsa & Bassnett, 2009 p.70). It

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<sup>74</sup> On the home page of the dedicated website, the stylebook is described as "The journalist's bible, wherever you are". Retrieved 13.01.2015 from: <https://www.apstylebook.com/>

<sup>75</sup> Version referenced in this thesis retrieved 02.10.2014 from: [http://handbook.reuters.com/index.php?title=Main\\_Page](http://handbook.reuters.com/index.php?title=Main_Page)

does however indicate that at least some of the reporting published by Reuters involves the translation of news content. The *Handbook* includes a section with guidance on the composition of the 'sign-offs' for different types of story, which "give the contact details for the people most involved in researching and editing a story" (Reuters, 2014 p.68). Translation is mentioned in two of the sign-off types. Stories with the sign-off 'WRITING BY', explicitly do not involve translation – "possibly even adding some local reporting, rather than producing a straight translation of a story" (*ibid* p.70), which suggests that some reports do involve 'straight translation of a story'. Indeed, this case is covered by the 'TRANSLATED BY' sign-off (*ibid*).

I completed a Factiva search in order to ascertain how common the 'TRANSLATED BY' story type is among the reporting published by Reuters<sup>76</sup>. With the filter set to 'in the last week', the search returned no reports; changing the filter to 'in the last month' produced three reports and extending the filter to 'in the last 3 months' produced 12 results<sup>77</sup>. The fact that the text 'translated by' appears in only 12 reports published by Reuters over the last three months suggests that the 'straight translation of a story' is uncommon. In nine of the 12 reports the text 'translated by' appears in the bracketed 'sign-off'; the nine results are all 'BRIEFS', a type of bulleted news summary (Reuters, 2014 p.59) and the 'Gdynia newsroom' is attributed as the translator in every case. While the role of translation in these nine reports is not clear, it is clear that they constitute a particular case and that the 'straight translation' of news reports is a rare activity in Reuters' newsrooms<sup>78</sup>.

There are several points where the *Handbook* stresses the importance of writing "in language that is easy to translate" (Reuters, 2014 p.76). There are also brief references to translation scattered throughout, for example the instruction not to hyphenate translations of military ranks (*ibid* p.255) and to be especially carefully reporting the details of bankruptcy stories when translation is involved (*ibid* pp.158 & 510), but none of the mentions of translation in the *Handbook* discussed so far constitute a translation strategy. There are three points where the

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<sup>76</sup> Search completed 21.07.2015 for the text 'translated by', in English, from the source 'Reuters News'.

<sup>77</sup> The search produced 14; two repetitions are excluded from the count.

<sup>78</sup> Of the three remaining search results, one is a book review, with the text 'translated by' referring to the translation of the book. The other two results use the wording in a statement at the start of the report identifying the remainder of the text as key remarks/statements 'translated by Reuters'. These reports exemplify another piece of translation-related guidance in the *Handbook*; on p.96 it is stated that "clients often want to read the text of a major announcement or speech [...] If the original is in a language other than English, say so, and whether this is an official or Reuters translation".

*Handbook* gives advice that communicates the Reuters approach to translation more generally; these are the 'foreign language phrases' and 'quotation' entries in the *Style Guide* and a section of text under the header 'Quotes' on page 4.

The text under the header 'foreign language phrases' does not explicitly mention translation, it does however indicate an acculturating approach, since it instructs journalists to avoid retaining foreign language:

Use such phrases or quotes only in **exceptional cases**, for instance where no generally recognised English **equivalent** exists. They must always be explained, e.g. Dismissing the libel action, the judge said, 'De minimis non curat lex' (a Latin phrase meaning 'The law does not concern itself with very small matters'). (Reuters, 2014 p.245, emphasis added)

The instruction is somewhat vague; the degree of acculturation it prompts will depend on journalists' interpretation of what qualifies as an 'exceptional case' and what qualifies as an 'equivalent'.

The 'quotations' entry in the *Style Guide* does mention translation directly. There are in fact two pieces of advice regarding translating quotations. The first of these is as follows:

When translating quotes from another language into English, do so in an **idiomatic** way rather than with pedantic literalness. However, give a **literal** translation if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis. (Reuters, 2014 p.390, emphasis added)

The above paragraph calls for two different translation strategies; journalists are instructed to translate quotes "in an idiomatic way" in general, but to "give a literal translation if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis". An idiomatic translation is one which prioritises transferring the meaning of the source text, in a way that is natural and comprehensible in the target text (Munday, 2009 p.197). Literal translations by contrast, "tend to preserve formal features almost by default (i.e. with little or no regard for context, meaning or what is implied by a given utterance" (Hatim & Munday, 2004 p.41). The use of a literal translation, while not advocated in the foreignised strategy developed in this thesis, would qualify as a foreignising strategy according to Venuti's definition on the basis that it results in a non-fluent translation (see 2.2.1).

In the second mention of translation under the 'quotations' entry in the *Style Guide*; journalists are instructed to "avoid excessive use of direct quotes in English when a speaker has spoken in another language". While the 'quotations' entry advises against the use of direct quotes when translation is involved, elsewhere the *Handbook* highlights the value of direct quotes – "subscribers find direct quotes very valuable" (Reuters, 2014 p.81).

The instruction to translate quotes in "an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness" is repeated in a paragraph under the 'Quotes' header on p.4 (although there is no mention of using a literal translation for 'tendentious' statements). The paragraph additionally includes the following guidance:

Beware of translating quotes in newspaper pickups back into the original language of the source. If a French politician gives an interview to an American newspaper, it is almost certain that the translation back into French will be wrong and in some cases the quote could be very different. In such cases, the fewer quotes and the more reported speech, the better. (Reuters, 2014 p.4).

There is one additional piece of translation-related advice in this paragraph – "Care must be taken to ensure that the tone of the translation is equivalent to the tone of the original".

Although the Reuters *Handbook* does not set out an explicit translation strategy, looking at the translation-related guidance it does contain, as well as how the guidance is interpreted and applied in practice, has allowed me to build a picture of Reuters' current approach to translation. Analysing the content of the *Handbook* in detail has also given me a broader picture of the institutional norms and ideals that govern this approach. The core translation guidelines in the *Handbook*, which instruct journalists to translate quotes idiomatically and avoid foreign language, characterise the macro-level acculturating translation strategies identified in the literature. In the following chapter, I set out five strategy changes which update the advice in the *Handbook* and collectively foreignise Reuters' current approach to the translation of quotation and culture-specific terms.

## Chapter 6

### The foreignised strategy

The Reuters *Handbook* does not set out a clear, overall approach to translation but does call for the use of certain strategies; the translation-related guidance advice it contains is conceived of in this thesis as Reuters' current translation strategy. The foreignised strategy presented in this chapter is a set of five 'strategy changes', each of which revises and/or adds to the guidance on translation in the Reuters *Handbook*. In the first part (6.1), I present the details of the five strategy changes and illustrate what the foreignised strategy looks like in practice, in the context of the *Handbook* and the corpus. In the second part (6.2), I present the rationale behind the strategy changes and analyses of current practice that informed their development. The chapter closes with further remarks and reflections on the nature and viability of the foreignised strategy (6.3).

#### 6.1 The strategy changes

The five strategy changes are presented in this thesis as revisions/additions to the guidance related to translation in the Reuters *Handbook*. The reason for presenting the changes in this way is to reflect the fact that these changes are not idealistic notions of what foreignised news translation could be, but a considered attempt at finding ways of foreignising global news translation that could, hypothetically, work in practice. The changes are motivated from a translation theoretical perspective but developed with the norms and ideals of global news production firmly in mind. In the first part of this section, I present an overview of the five strategy changes. In the second part, I present the detail of each of these changes in the context of the *Handbook* itself. In the third part, I show what the strategy changes involve in practice, with examples of the changes implemented on the corpus.

##### 6.1.1 The strategy changes in brief

The foreignised strategy addresses the two principal elements of the translation performed by agency journalists, the translation of culture-specific terms and the translation of foreign language quotations. The approach to the translation of culture-specific terms is foreignised by strategy change 1. The approach to the translation of quotations is foreignised collectively by all five strategy changes. The descriptions below offer a brief overview of the changes; they are

illustrated in the context of the *Handbook* in 6.1.2, with examples from the corpus in 6.1.3 and then explained further in 6.2.

### **Strategy change 1 - Retention of culture-specific terms**

Strategy change 1 revises and adds to the advice under the 'foreign language phrases' entry of the *Handbook's Style Guide*. The existing version of this entry advises that foreign language phrases and quotes should only be used in 'exceptional cases'. Strategy change 1 relates specifically to the use of foreign language in the case of culture-specific terms. It comprises three parts:

- **Part 1a** aims to clarify when the use of foreign language might be necessary; i.e. when replacing the term with the closest English equivalent would mean losing part of the meaning conveyed by the culture-specific term relevant to the news event. In such cases, it calls for the foreign culture-specific term to be retained, with a translation/explanation in the first instance.
- **Part 1b** states that the translation/explanation is not needed in subsequent instances.
- **Part 1c** states that when a culture-specific term appears in a headline/lead and there is not enough space to provide the translation/explanation, the foreign term should be used and the translation/explanation provided at the next opportunity.

### **Strategy change 2 - Retention of foreign language in quotations**

Like strategy change 1, strategy change 2 revises and adds to the advice under the 'foreign language phrases' entry of the *Handbook's Style Guide*. While strategy change 1 relates to the retention of foreign language in the case of culture-specific terms, strategy change 2 relates specifically to the retention of foreign language in quotations. It comprises six parts:

- **Parts 2a, 2b and 2c** describe three cases in which to consider the retention of some of the original wording of quotes.
- **Part 2c** additionally involves a revision to information in the 'quotations' entry, where journalists are instructed to use a literal translation strategy in the case that "a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis" (p.390). In place of a literal translation strategy, the journalist is advised to consider retaining some of the original wording of quotations in three cases. The three cases are drawn from information provided elsewhere in the *Handbook* regarding the use and function of quotation.

- **Part 2d** states that if the quote appears more than once in the report, subsequent references do not require the translation/explanation to be repeated.
- **Part 2e** presents possible strategies for nuancing the representation of a quotation when the translation is particularly problematic, for instance, providing two possible translations for a word that has no direct equivalent.
- **Part 2f** advises against the use of foreign language in headlines, on the basis of space constraints.

### **Strategy change 3 - Signalling deletions in direct quotations**

Strategy change 3 adds to guidance on deletions within quotations in the 'quotations' entry of the *Style Guide*. The information here stresses that nothing between quotation marks should be altered "other than to delete words, and then only if the deletion does not alter the sense of the quote" (p.389). The use of suspension points to signal deletions is detailed across two paragraphs. There is no mention of translation. Strategy change 3 adds a paragraph highlighting the tendency for deletions not to be signalled in translated quotations and the need to signal both deletions in the original quote as well as any that occur when the quote is translated.

### **Strategy change 4 – Direct quotation vs. Paraphrase**

Strategy change 4 adds substantially to the two lines of the quotations 'entry' that instruct journalists to "avoid excessive use of direct quotes in English when the speaker has spoken in another language". Strategy change 4 is comprised of three parts:

- **Part 4a** highlights that the process of translating a direct quote can effectively result in a paraphrase of what was originally said. It advises journalists to be alert to this and to mark the translated quote as a paraphrase (i.e. not between quotation marks) accordingly.
- **Part 4b** advises journalists to consider the use of a "broken" quote when paraphrasing foreign language quotations containing "unusual, contentious or highly colourful" words. The user is directed to the 'foreign language phrases' entry, where strategy change 2a advises the retention of original wording in "broken" quotes.
- **Part 4c** instructs journalists to present translated quotations as paraphrase when reporting speech in headlines, since character limitations make it difficult to accurately report direct quotation spoken in a foreign language.

### Strategy change 5 – Signalling the foreign context of quotations

Strategy change 5 does not relate directly to any part of the *Handbook*. It advises journalists, where appropriate, to signal the foreign context of foreign language quotations in order to signal the translation process. For instance, stating that the speaker was speaking on French television/radio. The addition is made in the 'quotations' entry of the Style Guide, where it follows on logically from strategy change 4, which highlights the problematic nature of reported translated quotation.

#### 6.1.2 The strategy changes in the Reuters *Handbook*

The five strategy changes summarised above are presented below in the context of the relevant parts of the *Handbook*. The changes affect only the 'foreign language phrases' and 'quotations' entries in the *Style Guide* section of the *Handbook*. The existing parts of the *Handbook* are included as screenshots from a PDF version of the document, downloaded from the Reuters website. The revisions/additions are shown alongside the information as it currently appears in the *Handbook*. The strategy change numbers are entered in square brackets at the end of the sections of text. I have included 'foreignised' versions of the 'foreign language phrases' and 'quotations' entries in appendices 3.1 and 3.2 to illustrate what the resulting version of these entries would look like in the *Handbook*.

#### Revisions/additions to the 'foreign language phrases' entry

The revisions/additions to the 'foreign language phrases' entry introduced by changes 1 and 2 are shown below. The existing entry (one paragraph) is shown in full in the screenshot. The dashed outline around the existing entry indicates that the text in the box below it (solid outline) is intended to replace the existing text.

#### foreign language phrases

Use such phrases or quotes only in exceptional cases, for instance where no generally recognised English equivalent exists. They must always be explained, e.g. Dismissing the libel action, the judge said, "De minimis non curat lex" (a Latin phrase meaning "The law does not concern itself with very small matters").



The use of foreign language should be avoided in general but may be helpful when translating culture-specific terms or quotations, as described below.

#### **foreign culture-specific terms**

Consider retaining foreign language where replacing a foreign term with the closest English equivalent would involve losing cultural-specificity important to the reader's understanding. The foreign term does not need inverted commas/quotation marks. Add an explanation/translation in the first instance [1a]. Subsequent uses can be left in the original language without repeating the translation/explanation [1b]. Where the foreign cultural concept appears in the headline/lead and there is not space to provide explanatory text, use the foreign term rather than generalising with a translation, and add the explanation at the next opportunity [1c].

#### **foreign language quotations**

Consider retaining foreign language in translated quotations in the following cases:

- When using a "broken" quote. A "broken" quote is only needed when the words are *contentious, inflammatory or colourful*<sup>79</sup>, meaning their translation is likely to be problematic. [2a].
- In order to *catch distinctions and nuances in important passages of speeches* or to *convey some of the flavour of the speaker's language*<sup>80</sup> [2b].
- *If a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis* [2c].

Provide the original foreign wording within the quotation marks followed by a translation/explanation in the first instance. Subsequent references to the quote can be left in the original language without repeating the translation/explanation [2d]. In cases where it is not possible to accurately/objectively represent the statement in translation, i.e. where the wording does not translate easily into English, consider signalling this to the reader, e.g. 'meaning something like X', or nuancing the representation with two possible renderings, e.g. "which most closely translates as X or X" [2e].

Character limitations<sup>81</sup> mean there will likely not be space to include both the original wording and a translation of a foreign language quote in headlines; translate into English and provide the original wording at the next opportunity [2f]. NB: Always present translated quotes in headlines as paraphrase (see also 'quotations' [4c]).

#### **Revisions/additions to the 'quotations' entry**

The 'quotations' entry is comprised of 15 paragraphs in total. The relevant parts are presented in a series of screenshots below, with the revisions/additions inserted in the position intended.

Whereas the 'foreign language phrases' entry is fully replaced by the text of strategy changes 1 and 2, here, the existing entry is largely left as it is, with the strategy changes adding translation

<sup>79</sup> Wording reproduced from the 'broken quotes' entry of the *Style Guide*: 'Do not use if the words quoted are not contentious e.g. He said she was a great soldier. Use if the language is inflammatory or colourful e.g. She said he was a "stinking, rotten coward".' (p.169)

<sup>80</sup> Wording reproduced from a bullet point in the 'Quotes' section of the *Handbook*, under the header 'Quotes can also be used to:' (p.107)

<sup>81</sup> "Headlines will turn red in Lynx Editor after 64 characters, including the headline tag. That is a warning that the headline has probably run long enough. If you need a few extra characters at times, there is space to do so but remember that it may need to be trimmed to fit on Top News displays" (*Handbook* p65).

guidance. The added text is inserted in shadowed text boxes, to help distinguish it from the existing text. The exception is the change marked as 2c, which is the second revision introduced by strategy change 2c. Here the text in the solid outline box is intended to replace the existing text displayed in the screenshot with the dashed outline above it. A large part of the wording remains the same; the parts which revise the existing entry are underlined.

## quotations

Quotes are sacred. Do not alter anything put in quotation marks other than to delete words, and then only if the deletion does not alter the sense of the quote.

Show deletions from a quoted text with three full stops with a space before and after, e.g. He said: "We will win by fair means or foul ... and the devil take the hindmost."

If the words omitted are at the end of a sentence and are followed by another sentence in quotation marks, then the next word is capitalised to show the start of a new sentence. "We will fight and we will win ... We will never surrender." You may drop words in this way only if the deletion does not alter the sense of the quote.

There is a tendency for deletions to be obscured in translated versions of quotes, thus jeopardizing the accuracy of the quote. When translating foreign language quotes as direct speech, be alert to and show (as described above) any deletions from the original utterance in the version of the foreign language quote you are translating as well as any deletions that result from the translation process [3].

When translating quotes from another language into English, do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. However, give a literal translation if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis.

When translating quotes from another language into English, do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. However, consider retaining some of the original language if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis (see also 'foreign language phrases') [2c].

Avoid excessive use of direct quotes in English when a speaker has spoken in another language.

Be alert to the fact that translating a direct quote in *an idiomatic way*<sup>82</sup> can involve moving so far from the original wording that the translation effectively becomes a paraphrase of what the speaker has said; in such cases take care to present the speech as paraphrase rather than as a direct quote [4a]. If any of the words are *contentious, inflammatory or colourful*<sup>83</sup> consider retaining those words (along with a translation/explanation in brackets) in the original language as a “broken” quote within the paraphrased quote [4b] (see also ‘foreign language phrases’ and ‘broken quotes’).

Character limitations in headlines present an additional challenge to accurately directly quoting someone who spoke in a foreign language. Always present translated quotes in headlines as paraphrase; i.e. with no part of the quote between quotation marks [4c] (see also ‘foreign language phrases’).

Where appropriate, signal that the English wording is a translation of words spoken in a foreign language by making direct reference to the foreign context, e.g. ‘Speaking on French radio, ...’ [5].

### 6.1.3 Examples of the strategy changes implemented on the corpus

Parts 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 aimed to illustrate how the strategy changes revise and add to the advice related to translation in the ‘foreign language phrases’ and ‘quotation’ entries. Before going on to discuss the changes in more detail, in this part, I present examples of the strategy changes implemented on the Reuters corpus, with the aim of clarifying the ways in which, and the degree to which, the changes foreignise Reuters’ current translation strategy.

The Reuters corpus was used to experiment with the strategy changes, to get an idea of how a certain change might work in practice. Once I had decided to run with a version of the change, I applied that change to each of the reports in the corpus in order to test the change in multiple contexts. After arriving at a final set of changes I then produced a set of final, ‘foreignised’ reports, on which the strategy changes had been implemented. The foreignised versions of each of the five reports used in the corpus are presented in appendices 2.5.1 - 2.5.5. Extracts from the original and foreignised versions of the reports are presented for comparison in the tables below to show what each of the individual changes might involve in practice.

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<sup>82</sup> Wording reproduced from the paragraph presented in the dash outlined screenshot above: ‘When translating quotes from another language into English, do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness’.

<sup>83</sup> Wording reproduced from the ‘broken quotes’ entry of the *Style Guide*: ‘Do not use if the words quoted are not contentious e.g. He said she was a great soldier. Use if the language is inflammatory or colourful e.g. She said he was a “stinking, rotten coward”’. (p.169)

### Strategy change 1 - Retention of culture-specific terms (1a, 1b & 1c)

	Report	ORIGINAL	FOREIGNISED (post-implementation)
1a	DUMMY	with a call to rid the Paris <b>suburbs</b> of...	with a call to rid the Paris <b>banlieue - the high-rise residential areas on the outskirts of the city</b> – of...
1b	CRIME POLICIES	ordering specially trained police to tackle 25 problem <b>neighbourhoods</b>	ordering specially trained police to tackle 25 problem <b>quartiers</b>
1c	SECURITY (headline)	Sarkozy pledges to beef up French <b>suburb</b> security	Sarkozy pledges to beef up French <b>banlieue</b> security

### Strategy change 2 - Retention of foreign language in quotations (2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 2e & 2f)

	Report	ORIGINAL	FOREIGNISED (post-implementation)
2a	SECURITY	[...] promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a <b>"merciless war"</b> against [...]	[...] promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a <b>"guerre sans merci (merciless war)"</b> against [...]
2b	IMMIGRATION	"France is an open country but not a <b>wasteland</b> where [...]"	"France is an open country but not a <b>'terrain vague' (wasteland)</b> where [...]"
2c	CRIME POLICIES	Sarkozy vowed to investigate the tear gas incident and repeated his <b>"zero tolerance"</b> policy towards violence	Sarkozy vowed to investigate the tear gas incident and repeated his <b>"tolérance zéro (zero tolerance)"</b> policy towards violence
2d	THUGOCRACY	[...] It has everything to do with a <b>'thugocracy'.</b> "	[...] It has everything to do with a <b>voyoucratie ...</b> <sup>84</sup>
2e	DUMMY (lead)	[...] calling a journalist a <b>dummy</b> [...]	[...] calling a journalist a <b>"couillon" - a French colloquial term similar to "dummy" – [...]</b>
2f <sup>85</sup>	DUMMY (headline)	France's Sarkozy caught calling journalist <b>"dummy"</b>	France's Sarkozy caught calling journalist <b>dummy</b>

### Strategy change 3 – Signalling deletions in direct quotes

	Report	ORIGINAL	FOREIGNISED (post-implementation)
3	IMMIGRATION	"Our policy of firmness is paying off"	"Our policy of firmness is paying off ..."

### Strategy change 4 - Direct quotation vs. Paraphrase (4a, 4b & 4c)

	Report	ORIGINAL	FOREIGNISED (post-implementation)
4a	SECURITY	He promised 500 million euros (\$724.6 million) to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the "rapid deghettoization of particularly isolated neighbourhoods, [...]"	He promised 500 million euros (\$724.6 million) to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the rapid deghettoization of particularly isolated <b>quartiers</b> <sup>86</sup> , [...]
4b	THUGOCRACY	<b>"If a little tough guy can come back [...]", Sarkozy said.</b>	<b>Sarkozy said the possibility of a little "voyou" (thug) coming back [...]</b>
4c	THUGOCRACY	Sarkozy says "thugocracy" behind French riots	Sarkozy says <b>thugocracy</b> behind French riots

<sup>84</sup> Strategy change 3 has also been implemented in this example.

<sup>85</sup> Strategy change 2f is implemented on two of the headlines in the corpus. Due to the overlap with strategy change 4c, these changes are marked as 2f/4c. The two cases qualify as implementations of both changes. I have given one of these headlines as an example of 2f and the other as an example of 4c.

<sup>86</sup> Strategy change 1b has also been implemented in this example.

### Strategy change 5 - Signalling the foreign context of quotes

	Report	ORIGINAL	FOREIGNISED (post-implementation)
5	IMMIGRATION	[...] he told a <b>news</b> conference [...]	[...] he told a <b>French news</b> conference [...]

The table below presents a comparison of the original and foreignised versions of one of the reports in the corpus (SECURITY). The aim of the comparison is to show the degree to which the Reuters reports are foreignised as a result of implementing the strategy changes. Paragraphs which are not impacted by the strategy changes are entered as '[no changes]'. Paragraphs where a change has been made are entered in full with the changed part(s) highlighted in bold in both the original and foreignised columns. The strategy change category is indicated in superscript in the foreignised column.

SECURITY ORIGINAL	SECURITY FOREIGNISED
Sarkozy pledges to beef up French <b>suburb</b> security	Sarkozy pledges to beef up French <b>banlieue</b> <sup>1a,1c</sup> security
President Nicolas Sarkozy promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a " <b>merciless war</b> " against gangs and drug traffickers in France's poor <b>suburbs</b> , many of which have faced sporadic violence since riots in 2005.	President Nicolas Sarkozy promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a " <b>guerre sans merci</b> " ( <b>merciless war</b> ) <sup>2a</sup> against gangs and drug traffickers in France's poor <b>banlieues, residential areas on the outskirts of big cities</b> <sup>1a,1c</sup> , many of which have faced sporadic violence since riots in 2005.
Sarkozy's plan to regenerate the ethnically diverse <b>neighbourhoods of high-rise housing blocks</b> is a response to the weeks of youth violence and scenes of burning cars that made headlines three years ago and have occasionally flared up since.	Sarkozy's plan to regenerate the ethnically diverse <b>quartiers - as the high-rise estates are known</b> <sup>1a</sup> - is a response to the weeks of youth violence and scenes of burning cars that made headlines three years ago and have occasionally flared up since.
"We will put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking," Sarkozy <b>told local leaders</b> as he unveiled the plan, which follows proposals by urban policy minister Fadela Amara, a civil rights activist and one of several left-wing figures in the government.	"We will put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking, ..." Sarkozy <b>told local leaders at the Elysée Palace</b> <sup>3</sup> as he unveiled the plan, which follows proposals by urban policy minister Fadela Amara, a civil rights activist and one of several left-wing figures in the government.
He promised 500 million euros (\$724.6 million) to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the " <b>rapid deghettoization of particularly isolated neighbourhoods</b> ", which are often cut off from city centres even though they are geographically close.	He promised 500 million euros (\$724.6 million) to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the " <b>rapid deghettoization of particularly isolated quartiers</b> " <sup>4a</sup> <sup>1b</sup> , which are often cut off from city centres even though they are geographically close.
[no changes]	[no changes]
[no changes]	[no changes]
[no changes]	[no changes]
[no changes]	[no changes]
[no changes]	[no changes]
He said he would not stand for discrimination and urged the country's elite institutions, such as the <b>Henri IV high school</b> or the ENA civil servant training school, to be more diverse.	He said he would not stand for discrimination and urged the country's elite institutions, such as the <b>Lycee Henri IV school</b> <sup>1a</sup> or the ENA civil servant training school, to be more diverse.
[no changes]	[no changes]
[no changes]	[no changes]
Sarkozy's uncompromising position with the mostly young rioters when he was interior minister and his pledge to <b>clean them out with an industrial cleaner</b> generated deep hostility among many in the <b>suburbs</b> and he has rarely returned.	Sarkozy's uncompromising position with the mostly young rioters when he was interior minister and his pledge to " <b>nettoyer au karcher</b> " an estate ( <b>clean it out with a Karcher industrial cleaner</b> ) <sup>2a,4b</sup> generated deep hostility among many in the <b>banlieues</b> <sup>1b</sup> and he has rarely returned.

In January, he made his first visit to an impoverished <b>suburb</b> since he was elected last May and met and talked to several young people.	In January, he made his first visit to an impoverished <b>quartier</b> <sup>1b</sup> since he was elected last May and met and talked to several young people.
[no changes]	[no changes]

**Table 14 - Comparison of original and foreignised versions of the SECURITY report**

## 6.2 The foreignised strategy in more depth

The aim of the discussions in this section is to elaborate on the individual strategy changes and nature of the foreignised strategy. I begin by discussing three key features of the foreignised strategy observable in the comparisons shown in part 6.1.3, the (limited) degree to which the changes foreignise the reports, the expansion of text and the retention of foreign language (6.2.1). I then explain the rationale behind one of the key decisions – whether or not to foreignise the headlines and leads (6.2.2). Finally I discuss strategy changes 2-5 collectively, in order to clarify how each of the changes revises and adds to the current guidance on translating quotation in the *Handbook* (6.2.3).

### 6.2.1 Key features of the foreignised strategy

Looking at the comparison presented in Table 14 above, the reader is likely to have observed three key features of the foreignised strategy. Firstly, that the strategy changes do not result in a dramatically different version of the report; secondly, that the changes very often involve expanding the text and thirdly, that the foreignised strategy predominantly involves the retention of foreign language. I highlight these features as I am conscious that they may be seen to be undesirable or to jeopardise the viability of the foreignised strategy, concerns which I aim to address in the discussion below.

#### 6.2.1.1 The foreignised strategy is only foreignising to a degree

As illustrated in the comparison presented in Table 14, implementing the foreignised strategy does not result in a dramatically different version of the news report. This is both a deliberate and desirable feature of the strategy changes. As I describe in 3.2.1, the foreignised strategy is only intended to be foreignising to a degree and changes that result in non-fluency are considered not to be viable. Since the intention is for the foreignised strategy to represent a viable alternative to Reuters current translation strategy, I take the Reuters *Handbook* as a starting point and revise and add to the translation guidelines it sets out. The individual changes

do not dramatically alter the day-to-day translation practice of Reuters' journalists, but collectively represent an overall shift to a more foreignising approach. Moreover, as this research project aims to highlight, the translation practices of the global news agencies comprise two principle elements: the translation of culture-specific information and the translation of quotation. The foreignised strategy therefore only involves a change to the news report where culture-specific terms or quotations are rendered in the news reports.

#### **6.2.1.2 The strategy changes predominantly result in the expansion of the text**

The journalists who produced the original Reuters reports will have needed to work to word/space constraints, particularly in the case of the headlines and lead paragraphs. In addition to the word count limitations on individual reports, the journalistic ideal of concise newswriting reflected in the Reuters *Handbook* makes the expansion of the text undesirable in general. The expansion of the text is not, however, considered to make the foreignised strategy unviable.

The lengthier text segments seen in the foreignised versions of the reports are an unavoidable consequence of a foreignised approach, which dedicates more space to the translation in pursuance of the aim of increasing the readers' awareness of the translation process and opportunities to engage with the foreign source culture. The retention of foreign language when rendering culture-specific terms and quotations called for in strategy changes 1 and 2 inevitably causes the foreignised versions of the reports to be longer than the originals, since the foreign language is retained in addition to an explanation/translation (the other three strategy changes related more specifically to quotation do not necessarily result in the expansion of the text). This does not, however, mean that the retention strategies outlined in strategy change 1 and 2 are fundamentally flawed.

Implementing the strategies on the Reuters corpus has involved a greater degree of expansion than would be necessary in practice because I have needed to incorporate the changes into existing text. While retaining foreign language with an explanation/translation necessarily involves an expansion of that particular part, incorporating the retention of foreign language into the original draft would reduce the impact on the overall word count in practice. The following

excerpt from an AFP report illustrates how a culture-specific term (in this case *banlieue*) can be retained without jeopardising the conciseness of the newswriting:

On Friday evening Sarkozy, 52, visited a high-immigration neighbourhood east of Paris for a discussion with young people, defying critics who say he is unable to venture into the "banlieues" because of his deep unpopularity there<sup>87</sup>.

*Banlieue* is used in the final sentence of the paragraph but the explanation/translation comes in the first line – "high-immigration neighbourhood". By separating the foreign term and the explanation in this way, the journalist makes efficient use of both.

The impact of retaining foreign language on text expansion within quotations might be more difficult to counter, since any parts left in the original language will always need to be translated. However, building on the advice on quotations in the Reuters *Handbook*, the retention of foreign language in translated quotations is only called for in the three following cases:

- When using a "broken" quote. A "broken" quote is only needed when the words are contentious, inflammatory or colourful, meaning their translation is likely to be problematic **[2a]**.
- In order to catch distinctions and nuances in important passages of speeches and convey some of the flavour of the speaker's language **[2b]**
- If a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis **[2c]**

The additional word count involved in retaining part of the original wording of the quotation is considered to be necessary in order to overcome the problem that the translation process involves a secondary level of mediation and jeopardises the accuracy and objectivity of the reporting (see 2.3.1). This problem is currently addressed by the instruction in the *Handbook* to use a literal translation strategy if "a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis" (Reuters, 2014 p.390), guidance which strategy change 2, together with the other changes addressing the translation of quotation (3-5) replace (see 6.2.3). The rationale and analyses of current practice behind the decision to introduce the retention of foreign language (strategy changes 1 and 2) are explained in more detail below.

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<sup>87</sup> French parliament approves controversial youth jobs plan, AFP, 9 March, 2006. Retrieved 11.09.2013 from: <https://global-factiva-com.libproxy.kcl.ac.uk/sb/default.aspx?Inep=hp>



### 6.2.1.3 The retention of foreign language – strategy changes 1 & 2

The retention of foreign language is at the core of the foreignised strategy. In the case of culture-specific terms (strategy change 1), the retention strategy contributes to the aim of increasing the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness by allowing readers to come into contact with the foreign source culture. The strategy also aims to overcome the loss of meaning and cultural significance that can result from culture-specific terms being replaced with the closest equivalent in the target language. In the case of quotations (strategy change 2), the retention strategy contributes to the aim of increasing readers' awareness of the translation process, by indicating to the reader that the words were originally spoken in a foreign language. At the same time, the strategy change aims to reduce the need for the journalist to mediate problematic quotations. By providing the original wording and a translation in brackets, the journalist gives the reader access to the original wording and signals that the English version is mediated through translation.

The current strategy regarding the use of foreign language, as articulated in the 'foreign language phrases' entry of the *Handbook's Style Guide* section, is much expanded by the strategy changes in order to encourage journalists towards retaining foreign language. Strategy changes 1 and 2 revise and substantially add to the advice, which instructs journalists to use foreign language only in 'exceptional cases'. The guidance on what might constitute an exceptional case is limited to the following - "for instance where no generally recognised English equivalent exists" (Reuters, 2014 p.245). Since the instruction is somewhat vague, looking at Reuters news reports has allowed me to get an idea of when and where Reuters journalists feel the retention of foreign language to be necessary and appropriate, in order to gauge how viable the retention strategy could be in practice.

The retention of foreign language in the case of both culture-specific terms and quotations is seen in the original version of one of the Reuters reports in the corpus. As seen in 5.3.1.1, in the THUGOCRACY report, two culture-specific terms are retained in one paragraph:

The "quartiers" or "cités", as the estates are known, are a world away from the prosperous centres of cities like Paris.

The team of journalists and editors who worked on the report, following the advice in the Reuters *Handbook*, may have decided that *quartier* and *cité* do not have a 'generally recognised English equivalent'. The retention strategy is however atypical of Reuters' English newswriting. Searching for "quartier" or "quartiers" on Factiva produces only a handful of Reuters reports which have retained the French words in this way. When Sarkozy's '*racaille*' quote (see 3.3.2) is reported in the THUGOCRACY report, the inflammatory word *racaille* is kept in French and two possible translations given in brackets - ("scum" or "rabble").

The retention strategies seen in the THUGOCRACY report indicate that Reuters journalists might sometimes find it necessary to retain foreign language in order to communicate a specific source-culture reality or the nuances of a quote to their readers, even if the decision to retain foreign language does not appear to be made very often by Reuters journalists. In the analysis of Reuters' current strategy presented in 5.3.1, the culture-specific terms *quartier/cité* are identified as having been rendered in the CRIME POLICIES and SECURITY reports also; however, in every case the journalists have made the decision not to retain the French term. The '*racaille*' quote is also included as context in two other reports – CRIME POLICIES and DUMMY. In both of these reports the word is translated directly into English; in CRIME POLICIES as "riff-raff" and in DUMMY as "scum". On the basis of the reports in the corpus, it appears that the THUGOCRACY report is atypical and that the norm is for Reuters journalists not to use foreign language when rendering culture-specific terms and quotations. However, the corpus is only five reports; in order to get a wider view of current practice, I searched all English Reuters reports for the French words retained in the THUGOCRACY report.

The high frequency of the verb 'to cite' in Reuters reporting meant searching for *cité* as a keyword in Factiva produced a very high volume of non-relevant results and was therefore abandoned. Searching for '*quartier*' (singular) did not turn up any relevant results<sup>88</sup> but searching for '*quartiers*' (plural) turned up three other Reuters reports which retain the French culture-specific term. Given the high volume of reporting on news from France published by Reuters daily (at the time of writing Factiva shows 45 Reuters reports from France 'in the last

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<sup>88</sup> The non-relevant results mainly involve erroneous French-language results or '*Quartier*' as part of a place name (most often a place name outside of France). Also discounted as non-relevant results are instances where the report uses the word *quartier* in the sense of the English word "quarter" to refer to popular areas of central Paris such as "the Left Bank quartier" or the "Quartier Latin".

day'), having found only three other Reuters reports which retain the word *quartier* across all Reuters reports across all dates is a strong indication that the decision to retain the word in the THUGOCRACY report is atypical of Reuters current strategy. Furthermore, a search for *quartier* in reporting by AP and AFP indicated the retention strategies seen in the THUGOCRACY report to be atypical of the practices of the global agencies generally<sup>89</sup>.

A search for the word *racaille* across all Reuters English-language news<sup>90</sup> finds only six reports which retain the French word when reporting Sarkozy's '*racaille*' quote, with the translation "scum" given in all six reports (one report gives "riff-raff" as an additional translation). In two of the reports the quote is included in an almost identical context paragraph towards the end of the report<sup>91</sup>. The same search for *racaille* in reporting by AP and AFP turned up two reports in the former and 33 in the latter. The higher number of AFP reports which retain the French word does not necessarily reflect a more foreignising approach; it is more likely a reflection of the fact that, as the French news agency, AFP publishes more news about France, and in greater detail. As discussed in 3.3.2, Sarkozy's use of the term *racaille*, and how it should be translated, was the subject of much debate in the media, it is not surprising therefore that the term appears in 33 AFP reports (it is perhaps surprising that it is not more).

In all but two of the AFP reports the translation given is "rabble". Of the other two reports one gives "yobs" instead while the other gives both translations "'- a word best translated as 'yobs' or 'rabble'". As in the THUGOCRACY report, the journalist has given two translations, which has the effect of signalling to the reader that there is no direct equivalent of the term in English. The inclusion of 'a word best translated as' reinforces this effect further, by clearly marking the English terms as a possible translation. The retention strategies used in the AFP report and in the THUGOCRACY report to render Sarkozy's controversial quote have been adopted into the foreignised strategy via the advice added by strategy change 2e:

In cases where it is not possible to accurately/objectively represent the statement in translation, i.e. where the wording does not translate easily into English, consider

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<sup>89</sup> I did not find any instances of the word *quartier* being retained in either source; the only two relevant results in AFP's content were quoting the same report about the riots published in the British newspaper the *Independent*.

<sup>90</sup> Search completed 16.08.2013.

<sup>91</sup> This constitutes an example of how translated versions of quotations become embedded as a result of the use of "boilerplate" material, defined by Cotter as "information that provides additional background to the story that gets repeated (often without any change to the text) in subsequent stories". Cotter, C. (2010). *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism*. Cambridge; New York, Cambridge University Press.

signalling this to the reader, e.g. 'meaning something like X', or nuancing the representation with two possible renderings, e.g. "which most closely translates as X or X".

The decision to retain foreign language was a straightforward one. The retention strategies introduced by strategy changes 1 and 2 are central to the aims of increasing readers' awareness of the translation process and engagement with the foreign source culture. Furthermore, although atypical of the current strategies, the retention of foreign language seen in reports by each of the 'Big three' agencies indicated that agency journalists may find strategy changes 1 and 2 viable in practice. As explained below, the decision regarding whether foreign language should be retained in the headlines and lead paragraphs of the news reports required a great deal more consideration.

#### **6.2.2 Foreignising the headlines and lead paragraphs**

Headlines and leads are carefully composed with the aims of succinctly summarising the news story and attracting readers' interest. The Reuters *Handbook* states that headlines "must be sharp, clear and informative" and advises journalists not to give too much detail in the lead, as more detail/specifics can be included further down (Reuters, 2014 p.65). The important part headlines and leads play in determining whether a reader carries on reading is both a factor against and a factor for the inclusion of foreign language.

An important factor against foreignising the headlines and leads is that the foreignised strategy aims to represent a viable alternative to Reuters' current strategy; any change which reduces the clarity of headlines and leads and their ability to attract and maintain readers' interest is therefore undesirable. However, if the headline and lead contain foreign language quotations or foreign cultural concepts it is because they are central to the news story. The growing number of people who access news online and through social media platforms means many readers may not even see content of the news reports beyond the headline since displaying the full report requires them to be interested enough in the news event to click on the link. If a reader does not read on, their interpretation of the news event will be based on the headline, and possibly the lead (if they read that far). From this perspective, applying the strategy changes to the headlines and leads is crucial to the aims of the foreignised strategy.

Before completing the pilot focus groups, I had anticipated that the focus group participants would find the presence of foreign language in the reports to be undesirable, challenging or strange, meaning that foreign language in the headline or lead would be damaging to the clarity. As a result I felt that the risk to the effectiveness of the headlines and leads outweighed the risk to the aims of the foreignised strategy. At the time of conducting the pilot study therefore, the foreignised strategy advised against the use of foreign language in headlines and leads and was implemented on the corpus of reports used in the focus groups accordingly. Since there were no clear indications that the foreign language introduced into the main body of the reports had caused the participants in the pilot study any difficulty, I reviewed the decision not to introduce foreign language into the headlines and leads.

This decision was informed by analysis of the retention of the term *banlieue* in reports published by the global agencies and by the mainstream British press. *Banlieue* is used as an example because it is a key term in the corpus (see 3.3.3) and because I have found the term to sometimes be retained in Reuters reporting (although not in the corpus). Since there is no specific advice in the Reuters *Handbook* regarding using foreign language in headlines/leads, looking at those reports where the journalist retained *banlieue* can help me to understand if Reuters journalists find it appropriate to use foreign language in headlines/leads. Since I am interested in the practices of the global agencies more widely, I also looked at instances of *banlieue* in reports by AFP and AP to help ascertain whether retaining foreign culture-specific terms in headlines/leads might represent a viable change to the agencies' current strategies. The use of *banlieue* in British newspapers is included in the analysis in order to get an idea of how commonplace the retention of foreign culture-specific terms is in headlines/leads of British newspapers, and therefore how acceptable it might be to readers.

I searched Factiva for instances of *banlieue*<sup>92</sup> in reporting by Reuters, AFP and AP, as well as eight British newspapers<sup>93</sup>; this search produced 27 results for Reuters, 64 results for AFP and 14 results for AP. The word *banlieue* was found in very few reports in three of the newspapers -

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<sup>92</sup> As the term is frequently misspelled as 'banlieu', I searched for 'banlieue OR banlieu OR banlieues OR banlieus AND the' ('the' is included to avoid erroneous French language results).

<sup>93</sup> Factiva sources searched 11.09.2013 – 'Agence France Presse - All sources', 'The Associated Press - All sources', 'Daily Mail (U.K.)', 'Financial Times', 'The Guardian - All sources', 'The Independent - All sources', 'The Mirror (U.K.)', 'The Sun (U.K.)', 'Reuters - All sources', 'The Telegraph (U.K.) - All sources', 'The Times (U.K.) - All sources'.

the *Daily Mail* (5 results), *The Mirror* and *The Sun* (each with 1 result), and in a very high number of reports by the remaining five newspapers – the *Financial Times* (216), *The Guardian* (287), *The Independent* (192), *The Telegraph* (172) and *The Times* (288). After downloading the results from Factiva I needed to check each of the reports to exclude non-relevant results from the analysis<sup>94</sup>; since this was a time-consuming activity, I limited the results from these five newspapers to the first 100. Table 15 below presents the number of instances of the culture-specific term being retained in headlines and leads of reports published by each source.

SOURCE	INSTANCES OF <i>BANLIEUE</i> IN HEADLINE	INSTANCES OF <i>BANLIEUE</i> IN LEAD
Reuters	0	1
Agence France-Presse	4	1
Associated Press	0	0
<i>The Daily Mail</i>	0	0
<i>Financial Times</i> *	8	5
<i>The Guardian</i> *	5	4
<i>The Independent</i> *	13	19
<i>The Mirror</i>	0	0
<i>The Sun</i>	0	0
<i>The Telegraph</i> *	2	12
<i>The Times</i> *	1	9

Table 15 - Instances of *banlieue* in headlines/leads (\*first 100 results)

*Banlieue* is used in 27 Reuters reports but not in the headlines of any of these. Only one of the Reuters reports includes the French term in the lead paragraph:

Investigations into France's bloodiest spate of guerrilla violence since 1986 are homing in on blighted "**banlieues**" - big-city suburbs that are breeding grounds for social resentment and racial hatred<sup>95</sup>.

Among the 14 Associated Press results *banlieue* is not used in any of the headlines or leads. *Banlieue* is found in 64 Agence France-Presse reports; the term is used in the headlines of four and the lead of one of these. *Banlieue* is found more often in the headlines and leads of reports published by the British newspapers, the most instances in one publication being the 13 headlines and 19 leads among the 100 results from *The Independent*. The only publications not found to have used *banlieue* in a headline or lead are *The Sun*, *The Mirror* and the *Daily Mail*; this is unsurprising given the low overall number of results for these publications.

<sup>94</sup> Results considered to be non-relevant are: repetitions, reports about arts/film/music (where the use of *banlieue* is considered to be fitting to the subject matter), reports where the use of *banlieue* refers to a non-French context and reports where *banlieue* is only used as part of a name/title.

<sup>95</sup> *France's blighted suburbs may be key to bombings*, 12 September, 1995. The fact that this report was published in 1995 is not considered to reflect a shift in strategy since there are other reports from the mid-late 1990s which do not use the term in the lead (including one by the same journalist).

The results for Reuters, AP and AFP indicate that the norm within the agencies is to not use foreign language in headlines or leads. However, the fact that *banlieue* appears in the headlines of four AFP reports suggests that retaining foreign culture-specific terms in headlines could possibly represent a viable strategy for the news agencies. The results for the *Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* and *The Times* strengthen this possibility; the use of the term *banlieue* in the headlines and leads of these publications indicates that the journalists do not expect the presence of the foreign term to be damaging to clarity or reader interest. Of course, the *Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* and *The Times* (newspapers which fall into the category of the British 'quality' press) are likely to target a more educated readership than the *Daily Mail*, *The Mirror* and *The Sun* (the 'tabloid' press), reflected in the higher instances of the retention of *banlieue*; however, the fact that these mainstream British newspapers use foreign language in their headlines and leads at all indicates that British readers might find such a strategy to be acceptable.

The revision to the 'foreign language phrases' section introduced by strategy change 1c now instructs journalists to retain foreign language in headlines and leads. Implementing change 1c on the corpus has resulted in foreign language being used in the headline of one of the reports (SECURITY, see 6.1.3). The foreignised strategy now only excludes the retention of foreign language in headlines in the case of reporting quotation. Taking into consideration the guidance in the Reuters *Handbook* on headline length – no longer than 64 characters – as well as their informative function and the importance of clarity, strategy change 2f advises journalists not to include the original foreign wording of quotations in headlines.

### **6.2.3 Foreignising the approach to the translation of quotations**

Strategy changes 2, 3, 4 and 5 all revise and/or add to the guidance on translating quotations in two paragraphs under the 'quotations' entry of the *Style Guide*. The first of the two paragraphs states:

When translating quotes from another language into English, do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. However, give a literal translation if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis. (Reuters, 2014 p.245)

The second of the two paragraphs is just one and a half lines and states that the “excessive use of direct quotes” should be avoided when translation is involved. The foreignised strategy leaves the latter instruction intact, but provides additional guidance on the use of direct quotes. The instruction to use a literal translation strategy is, however, removed completely.

#### 6.2.3.1 Replacing the literal translation strategy in the case of ‘tendentious’ quotes

As discussed in 5.3.2, the use of a literal strategy would have a foreignising effect on the reporting, however, in spite of the fact that it is currently called for in the Reuters *Handbook*, it is not considered a viable strategy for the global news agencies. A literal translation prioritises fidelity to the form of the source text unit over its content (see definition in 5.3.2). Following a literal translation strategy therefore means the journalist avoids interpreting the content of a quotation by remaining faithful instead to the wording of the quotation. While it is possible for an utterance to be translated literally without any of its meaning being lost, particularly when there is a considerable degree of correspondence between the source and target languages, an overly literal translation can jeopardise comprehensibility (Hatim & Munday, 2004 p.16).

Moreover, although the *Handbook* calls for the use of a literal translation strategy in the case of ‘tendentious’ quotations (Reuters, 2014 p.390), this advice appears not to be followed in practice. The news event which is the focus of the DUMMY report is Sarkozy being caught on camera calling a journalist a “dummy”. The incident is reported across two paragraphs as follows:

Do you think I give a damn about what you say? What do you expect me to say?" he says, adding: "What a dummy!"

He then turned back smiling to the journalist and slapped him on the shoulder, apologising for the comment and saying: "He's nice really. He's young."

Without comparing the translation with what Sarkozy said in French (see footnote for the original<sup>96</sup>), the idiomatic nature of the translation is evident in the use of common English turns of phrases to represent what Sarkozy said; the American expression ‘give a damn’ and the construction ‘what a + [offensive adjective]’.

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<sup>96</sup> "Qu'est-ce que vous voulez que j'ai à foutre de ce que vous me dites ? Qu'est-ce que vous voulez que je vous dise?" / "Eh couillon, va!", lui alors lancé le chef de l'Etat en souriant, avant d'ajouter "Pardon!, toujours rieur, devant la mine interloquée de certains journalistes, une main sur l'épaule du jeune homme. "Mais parce qu'il est sympa, il est jeune", a-t-il conclu (from the French Reuters report *Nicolas Sarkozy traite un journaliste de "couillon"* – see Appendix 2.2.4 for the full report).



The DUMMY report includes Sarkozy's '*racaille*' quote as context (see 3.3.2 for a detailed discussion), reported as *a call to rid the Paris suburbs of young 'scum'*. As further context the report includes a 2008 news event, when Sarkozy was caught on camera again, this time, *telling a man at an agricultural fair to "get lost, jerk"*, as the journalist reports it<sup>97</sup>. These renderings further reflect a tendency in the corpus for quotes to be translated idiomatically. The only instances of unnatural expression in the rendering of quotes in the corpus do not appear to be instances of journalists following advice in the *Handbook* to use a literal translation in the case of 'tendentious' quotations, since the quotations themselves do not fit the description 'tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis' (see Appendix 2.3.2 where I detail these instances).

The fact that there are no instances of a literal translation strategy being used in the corpus suggests that Reuters journalists do not find it an appropriate strategy. The inclusion of this guidance in the *Handbook* does however indicate institutional awareness that producing a fluent, natural sounding (acculturated) translation involves the journalist *representing* rather than *reproducing* what was said. While it is in strategy change 2c that the instruction to use a literal translation strategy is revised, each of the revisions/additions brought about by strategy changes 2-5 addresses the secondary level of mediation that occurs when quotations are translated in the news (see 2.3.1).

#### **6.2.3.2 The non-foreignising elements of the foreignised strategy**

The strategy changes revise the approach to reporting foreign language quotations in four different ways, and not all of them involve foreignising the translation. In fact, only two of the strategy changes allow the reader to come into contact with the foreignness of the source culture or language – the advice to consider retaining some of the original wording of quotations in certain cases (strategy change 2) and the call for journalists to signal the foreign context of foreign language quotations. The other two ways in which the approach to the translation of quotations is revised respond to and address the secondary level of mediation in a different way. Strategy change 3 responds to the fact that the *Handbook* highlights the importance of

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<sup>97</sup> The original French was "casse-toi pauvre con", as widely reported in the French media.

indicating where deletions have made been in quotations (for the sake of accuracy) but that this importance appears to be overlooked when quotes are translated. There are only two instances of the use of suspension points to indicate a deletion from a quotation in the corpus; when comparing the English versions of quotations in the corpus against the original French wording, I found deletions had occurred in six more places (once each in four of the reports and twice in one).

Strategy change 4 builds on the guidance in the corpus to avoid the “excessive use of direct quotes” when translation is involved. This instruction is left intact since it already responds to the problematic nature of representing what someone said in translation in the news. Direct quotation nonetheless features regularly in the Reuters corpus, but this does not mean that the journalists have overlooked the instruction; the *Handbook* also highlights the value of direct quotation (Reuters, 2014 p.81) and what constitutes “excessive use” is open to interpretation. It is perfectly conceivable that the reports in the corpus strike the right balance. It is not the intention of the strategy change to determine the level of direct quotations (this is left to the discretion of the journalist, as in the existing instruction); the strategy change instead highlights that producing an idiomatic translation of a direct quotation, in a form that fits the news report, can involve effectively paraphrasing what was said. Strategy change 4 advises journalists to be alert to such cases and to present the quotations as paraphrase accordingly.

### **6.3 Further remarks and reflections on the foreignised strategy**

As I wrote up the descriptions of the strategy changes and my accounts of the rationale behind these changes I realised that I do not have the space to offer a full account of all of the analysis and considerations that went into the development of the foreignised strategy. First and foremost I have aimed to illustrate what changes to current practice the foreignised strategy seeks to effect, and what those changes look like in practice. I have also aimed to explain what motivates these changes, without repeating arguments related to the aims of the foreignised strategy that run through the thesis.

One decision not recounted thus far is the specification of the instruction, in strategy change 1a, that foreign terms retained in the report do “not need to be between inverted commas/quotation marks”. The decision to include this statement was made after looking at instances where

*banlieue* is retained in reporting by the three agencies. Sometimes the term is placed between quotation marks and sometimes not; there does not appear to be a set approach. I considered leaving the statement out, concerned that the statement might be one instruction too many; however, looking at the use of quotation marks I had the impression that they had a similar distancing effect to a 'scare quote', emphasising the foreignness of the source culture in a way that could reduce the potential for the retention of the foreign language to have the effect of increasing cosmopolitan openness. Another detail of strategy change 1 which it seems pertinent to elucidate is the part that states that the translation/explanation does not need to be included in the second instance (1b). Again, this decision was based on the analysis of instances of *banlieue* retained in agency reporting. The journalists in the reports I found consistently only translated/explained the term in the first instance.

There are a few more general points of clarification to make before closing the discussion. First of all, that the advice under the header 'Quotes' on p.4 of the *Handbook* (described in 5.3.2) is deliberately not revised by the strategy changes. While there is substantial overlap with the 'quotations' entry in the *Style Guide*, the guidance on p.4 does not include the part that calls for the use of a literal translation strategy in the case of 'tendentious' quotes. The guidance here does not conflict with the aims of the foreignised strategy and as such is left intact.

Secondly, I would like to address a potential concern regarding the importance of agency news reports being written in a way that is easy to translate (raised in the analysis of the *Handbook* in 5.3.2). I do not anticipate that any of the strategy changes would make the translation into other languages problematic; for instance, the retention of foreign language (which is perhaps the most likely to be identified as potentially problematic) is not considered to create a problem for the translator because a translation/explanation is always provided. The fact that the reports are intended for translation only provides further motivation for the strategy changes, since they seek to avoid the loss of meaning and misrepresentation of quotation through translation.

Another important point to emphasise is that the strategy changes revise/add to a document that sets out Reuters' *English* newswriting practice; I have not looked at or taken into consideration Reuters' translation practices into any other language. The foreignised strategy is developed for the case of English language news specifically. Finally, I would like to stress

again, that although it is not my intention to effect a change in the way Reuters translates the news, I aim to find out if a foreignised approach to news translation could work in practice. The foreignised strategy is therefore intended to represent a viable, albeit hypothetical, alternative to current practice; every decision made in its development has been made with the Reuters journalist, whose day-to-day newswriting task the strategy changes would directly impact, in mind.

## Chapter 7

### Translation awareness & response to quotation: the impact of the changes

In this first chapter of analysis I look at indications of translation awareness in the focus group data in order to answer part A of RQ3: What might be the impact of the proposed strategy changes on readers' awareness of the translation process? The chapter consists of two parts. In the first part, the *a priori* theme 'Translation awareness' is explored; indications of translation awareness, in particular awareness that the quotations in the reports have been translated from French, are examined. In the second part, an inductive theme is explored; at the stage of conducting the focus groups I observed that the foreignised versions of quotations appeared to have had less of an impact on the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups than those reading the original versions. This possibility is explored under the theme 'Response to quotations'.

#### 7.1 Translation awareness

One of the aims of the foreignised strategy is to increase readers' awareness of the translation processes involved in reporting foreign news; and in particular awareness that the words of key global figures have been translated into the reporting language. The changes to foreignise Reuters' current translation strategy (see Chapter 6) are developed on the basis of the theoretical assumption that, as a result of the acculturating translation strategies currently employed by the 'Big three' global news agencies, readers are unlikely to be aware of the translation process involved in producing global news.

'Translation awareness' is very much an *a priori* theme; the focus groups were designed with the particular aim of gauging the impact of the changes on the participants' awareness of the translation process in mind and increasing awareness of the translation process is an explicit aim of the research. In order to reduce the risk of the data being interpreted only in ways that validate this expectation, I begin by looking for indications of non-awareness of translation in all groups (7.1.1), I then discuss the (few) explicit references to translation in the data (7.1.2), before looking at two excerpts from the FOREIGNISED groups where participants use French pronunciation as possible indications of translation awareness (7.1.3).

### 7.1.1 Non-awareness of translation in quotations

Within the *a priori* 'Translation awareness' theme, an inductive sub-theme has emerged – 'non-awareness of translation in quotations'. As shown in this section, two of the ORIGINAL groups discuss the accuracy (group A) and objectivity (group B) of the reporting of what Sarkozy had said without showing any awareness of the involvement of translation (7.1.1.1). By comparison, while not evidence of translation awareness as such, when the journalist's mediatory role is questioned by one of the participants in FOREIGNISED group B, her comments do at least indicate awareness that the words reported are not the words Sarkozy originally spoke (7.1.1.2).

#### 7.1.1.1 Indications of non-awareness in the ORIGINAL groups

The excerpt below is from a discussion in ORIGINAL group A where the participants question the accuracy of the quotations in the news reports. The key points of interest in the data are underlined; the full discussion is included to show that despite debating the accuracy of the quotations at some length, and indicating awareness that some of Sarkozy's words have been omitted, they do not indicate any awareness of the translation process nor its impact on the accuracy of the quotation:

*L: it says here "the response to the riots is to arrest the rioters", he says, and then "he branded the rioters 'scum'"*

*R: also "no one who breaks the law should be seen as a victim of a society," they have broken the law and it is an insult to France and the Republic*

*L: it's "an insult to the Republic", yeah*

*G: and that is presuming he has been accurately quoted as well*

*L: well they've got speech marks so they must be actual quotes*

*R: well it says that first one in line 3 is a speech to police officers...*

*L: well maybe he is going to speak differently to police officers than he does to the public*

*R: ...so you would have thought that would have been recorded so to get an accurate quote it would have been alright*

*C: and then he says that what has happened "is nothing to do with a social crisis", it's everything to do with you know the thugs*

*L: but I think people speak in different ways to different groups*

*C: oh they do*

*L: so if he was speaking to the press he probably wouldn't have used this language that he's used when speaking to the police because the police it is black and white for them, he's going you need to be tough on crime, you need to arrest them, you need to deal with this situation, whereas if he then went and spoke to the press about it he wouldn't necessarily be this inflammatory? I don't know*

*G: presumably he should be aware that everything he says is public, that there would have been*

press there

R: but surely there's a certain amount of responsibility on the people reporting it that if they're going to put something in speech marks, that it has to be... that's saying to the reader that that is what he has said. I mean they put these little dot dot dots or they'll insert little words in brackets to try and make sense of the direct quote but it should be a direct quote

L: yeah, it's an insult dot dot dot to the Republic, I don't know what he's said there, that's implying it's an insult to the Republic but we don't know what he's said in the middle

While ORIGINAL group A debate the accuracy of the quotations in reports, the participants in ORIGINAL group B debate another of Reuters' core values – objectivity (Reuters, 2014 p.89). As above, the key points of interest in the excerpt are underlined and the full discussion included to show that despite the participants being aware that they do not know the context nor tone in which the words were uttered (they appear to be conscious that what Sarkozy said is mediated through the journalist's choice and use of his words), they do not indicate any awareness of the translation process:

I: for me I like the articles that have got the quotes, the soundbites, what he has actually personally said

Me: any particular examples?

I: I don't know, I just particularly liked the quotes in the article we liked most, France's Sarkozy pledges tough immigration line, I just like the fact that it's got the quotes about that it is "not a wasteland where you can just set up freely", and "break year", the things that actually come out of his mouth, rather than it being the journalists opinion. I want to know the hard facts, what he has actually said

L: but I think the journalist needs to put that in context, on the one that we all thought that was really harsh, there are quotes from him, but the way that the journalist has written that

I: they're all embedded aren't they in the journalists opinion

L: that's what I mean, I also like to have the quotes, oh he actually said that, but when you read the article as a whole and you read before and after, you have to put it in context, because if we look at the last one, it has still got quotes but it is a more rounded story, it's a more rounded article, the other one, it's still got soundbites and quotes but you come away thinking, what an idiot, and I think that's what you are meant to think, that's what you are meant to come away thinking

I: yeah because they are soundbites and quotes embedded within the journalists opinion, they are being used to back up and support the journalists opinion, nothing more, just to back up the opinion that he's a bit of an idiot

L: but then we're reading them in this style as they are meant to be read, we don't know what tone, he could have been saying them in a jokey manner but this journalist has taken it like you said, and put it in this way, because although we want to know what he said, obviously the journalists have their own opinions

I: their own agenda

L: of course they do, so sometimes it is difficult to know what tone and context to put it in

In the two excerpts above, ORIGINAL groups A and B show awareness of the fact that their interpretation of the quotations in the news reports might have been affected by the way the quotations are mediated by the journalist. It is noteworthy that these two groups discussed accuracy/objectivity at such length without translation coming up as a factor. It seems likely that if there was any awareness of the secondary level of mediation that occurs when news is translated among the participants in these groups, it would have come up in these discussions. However, it is possible that the translation process was recognised but did not come up in the discussion because it is perceived of as straightforward linguistic transfer.

Although the accuracy/objectivity of the reporting came up in each of the six focus groups, discussions on the subject of the length seen in ORIGINAL groups A and B did not develop in the other groups, it is therefore not possible to know whether the participants reading the foreignised reports might have brought up translation as a factor in such a discussion. However, as seen below, one of the participants in FOREIGNISED group B does question how the journalist expresses what Sarkozy said.

#### **7.1.1.2 Indications of non-awareness in the FOREIGNISED groups**

In the following excerpt from FOREIGNISED group B, 'J' asks the group, "*but do you believe everything the journalist has written?*" The other participants state that they do. In the excerpt below, which follows on from this, I notice and ask a clarification on the doubt indicated by 'J' in order to probe for any underlying awareness of the translation process:

*Me: 'J' you don't seem so sure about it being factual*

*J: I don't know because I've not read any other information on it but, I don't really know enough about it, but the things that he has said, how do we know he has said them, unless the journalist was actually in the room when these things were being said*

*L: well we could say that about anything we read in the newspaper couldn't we*

*J: yeah but that's the debate*

*L: I mean I suppose that applies to us all, I'd forgotten about it so I don't really know enough about it as well to really take what this journalist has said as being truthful*

*Me: yeah because we have talked a lot about these things that Sarkozy has said as you say, but you're questioning whether maybe they are not actually what he has said*

*J: I'm not saying he hasn't said them but the way that they've written some of the information down, I'm not saying it's not factual, it's just that the writer has written their own style of writing and the way they've expressed what he's said, but none of us actually knows if that's fact. I know it's facts of he said this and he did this and he called a journalist a dummy and that sort of thing, there's just some*



*things that I might question*

This excerpt comes towards the close of the focus group; the participants are talking generally about their impression of the news reports. 'J' seems to mistrust the reporting of the quotations in the reports without being able to articulate clearly why. She mentions the writer's "*own style of writing and the way they've expressed what he's said*", which indicates an awareness that the words in the reports are not Sarkozy's, but the journalist's interpretation of Sarkozy's words. It might be that she does not trust journalists not to edit quotations for their own purposes but it might equally be the case that 'J' is conscious to some degree that the journalist had to choose how to express what Sarkozy said in English.

### 7.1.2 Explicit references to translation

In the discussion below I look at the three instances in the data where translation is mentioned directly; two in the FOREIGNISED groups and one in the ORIGINAL groups. In FOREIGNISED group A, when the participants are asked directly about their experience of the reading ease of the reports, 'L' comments – "*yeah, any French words they put the translation in*". Translation is explicitly mentioned once more in this focus group:

*J: maybe it's lost in translation but "a dummy" doesn't sound at all bad, if he'd called him something a lot stronger it might have grabbed me but I just think that's not news, that's just politicians*

While it is possible that 'J' is using the expression 'lost in translation' metaphorically, there appears to be no reason not to interpret the above excerpt as indicating 'J's awareness that 'dummy' is the translation given for a French word used by Sarkozy. There is a similar mention of translation in ORIGINAL group A. Here 'L' is discussing the word 'thugocracy':

*L: ... I think I've got an idea of what it is but I can't verbalise it, I think I know roughly what he means, maybe it's just not translating well*

Although the verb 'translate' primarily denotes transfer from one language into another, in a secondary (but common) usage it also means conveying meaning intra-lingually<sup>98</sup>. Rather than indicating awareness of translation, I interpret 'L's use of 'translating' in the ORIGINAL group

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<sup>98</sup> The following definitions of 'translate' (verb) in the Collins English dictionary online are relevant: 1. to express or be capable of being expressed in another language or dialect; 3. to express or explain in simple or less technical language; 4. to interpret or infer the significance of (gestures, symbols, etc.). Retrieved 28.10.2014 from: <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/translate?showCookiePolicy=true>.

according to this secondary meaning on the basis that she seems to be referring to the impact of the word being lost as a result of some form of intra-lingual editing. This interpretation is based on two considerations. Firstly, 'L' is reporting that she is struggling with the meaning of 'thugocracy', it therefore seems likely that she means that Sarkozy's intended meaning is not clear to her from his choice of words. Secondly, present tense constructions similar to "it's just not translating well" are commonly used when describing clarity, a comparable construction being "it's not coming across well", in such constructions the meaning is not conceived of as something fixed in the past; the reader themselves is an active participant in the construction of the meaning – "it's not coming across well [to me]". Whereas translation is normally conceived of as something fixed in the past by the translator, with common constructions such as "it has been translated poorly".

There is, however, one explicit reference to the translation process in the ORIGINAL groups. In the excerpt from ORIGINAL group A, 'V' assumes that the report has been translated from French because it is 'disjointed':

*V: has the tran..., I mean presumably this was originally in French?*

*...[another participant speaks, not in response to the above] ...*

*Me: [to 'V'] Do you have the impression that it was written in English or...*

*V: Just I wonder if in translation somehow the order has changed, every single one of them I feel, I don't really read that many papers but I've never read an article which seems so disjointed before, it goes back and forward in time, and seems to address something and then very quickly move on to something else*

While the above excerpt seems to clearly indicate awareness of the translation process, its interpretation is problematized by the fact that the awareness is prompted by the 'disjointed' flow<sup>99</sup> of the report, which reflects a poor understanding of what role translation might have played in the writing of the news report. This is the only point in any of the focus groups that a participant openly considers if the English report as a whole might be a translation. The participants continue to discuss the poor 'flow' of the report and translation is not mentioned again.

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<sup>99</sup> 'V' is talking about the report which was removed from the corpus after the pilot study because of the volume of comments about its 'disjointed' nature.

### 7.1.3 Participants in the FOREIGNISED groups using a French accent

In the following excerpt from FOREIGNISED group A, 'L' reads a quote aloud in a humorous voice, as if impersonating Sarkozy:

*L: ... he's basically being all loud and outspoken and he's like, "oh no, pardon [French pronunciation], he's really nice, he's really young"*

The fact that 'L' interprets 'pardon' as the French word (indicated by the French pronunciation she uses), when it is also an English word, indicates a consciousness that Sarkozy was speaking in French. There is a similar instance in the FOREIGNISED pilot group, the difference however is that 'E' pronounces the English word 'entrants' as if it were a French word:

*E: ...whereas this one gives you statistics about it, the rise and fall in immigration, he said the number of illegal entrants - entrants? - expelled from France...*

The paragraph 'E' is referring to consists entirely of this paraphrased quote from Sarkozy; no changes were made to foreignise the text here, although foreign language has been added to a quotation in the previous paragraph. As in the excerpt from FOREIGNISED group A above, the French pronunciation used suggests that 'E' is conscious that Sarkozy was speaking in French.

### Summary of observations on translation awareness

Non-awareness of translation in quotations was identified in two of the ORIGINAL groups in excerpts where the participants debated the accuracy/objectivity of quotations without showing any awareness of the translation process. In a similar discussion in one of the FOREIGNISED groups it seems possible that the doubt a participant expresses about the accuracy of the quotations may come in part from an (unconscious) awareness of the translation process; however, neither this participant nor others in the group clearly show any awareness of translation. The excerpts analysed in 7.1.1 therefore indicate that the participants in two of the ORIGINAL groups and one of the FOREIGNISED groups were not aware that the quotations had been translated. There are no indications of non-awareness of translation in the other groups, but there is one indication of awareness that a quotation had been translated in FOREIGNISED group A, one of the explicit references to translation seen in 7.1.2.

There are two explicit references to translation in the FOREIGNISED groups (both in set A), compared to one in the ORIGINAL groups (albeit a problematic one). These instances alone therefore suggest that awareness of translation is low in both the FOREIGNISED and ORIGINAL groups but that the strategy changes may have increased awareness among the participants in FOREIGNISED group A. Both the analysis of the mentions of translation and non-awareness of translation suggest less awareness of translation in the ORIGINAL groups compared to the FOREIGNISED, however, given that the analysis is limited to only a few indications of either, the suggestion is weak. The analysis in 7.1.1 and 7.1.2 is therefore complemented by analysis in 7.1.3 of two instances of participants in the FOREIGNISED groups using French pronunciation, which are interpreted as indications of awareness of a French source language, and therefore translation, albeit indirectly. While the comparative analysis of the theme 'translation awareness' presented above does not result in any strong suggestions of the impact of the strategy changes on awareness of the translation process, what indications it does show suggests the impact has been to increase awareness.

## **7.2 Response to quotations**

After completing the focus groups, I had the impression that the participants in the ORIGINAL groups had responded more strongly to Sarkozy's quotations than the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups had done. The impression that the quotations in the foreignised reports had had a reduced impact on the participants came from two observations. Firstly, when discussing Sarkozy's quotations, the participants in the ORIGINAL groups seemed to respond with comments expressing more emotion and judgement than those in the FOREIGNISED groups. Secondly, the participants in the ORIGINAL groups had seemed to make more references to and reproduce Sarkozy's quotations more than those in the FOREIGNISED groups.

### **7.2.1 Coding strong responses to quotations**

Since it was only my *impression* that the foreignised quotations had had a reduced impact on the participants, I set out to disprove this observation in the analysis. My first approach was to look for strong responses to Sarkozy's quotations in the transcripts from each of the groups. I created two codes in NVivo, 'emotional response to quote' and 'judgement in response to quote'. The excerpt below from FOREIGNISED group A was given both these codes:

*A: So it makes you really angry with him*

*J: he sounds like a complete meanie*

*Me: what makes you say that?*

*J: it's paragraph 12 and paragraph 16 particularly, so I think paragraph 12, out of touch, "the response to the riots isn't spending yet more of tax payers' money. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters", that [laughs], that just blatantly doesn't work, that's just not what the issue is, and then the "insult to the republic bit", I find that odd, that seems a very odd sentiment to me, whether it's a cultural thing...*

*L: it's quite arrogant, it's a bit of arrogance from him, it's not a problem with my country, it's their problem*

There are a number of instances, as in the excerpt above, where a participant laughs in response to a quotation from Sarkozy. This laughter seemed to indicate amused incredulity at Sarkozy's choice of words or sentiment, and a strong, emotional response rather than a matter-of-fact reading of what Sarkozy was reported to have said. Below is another example from the ORIGINAL pilot group:

*'V': his final quote – again [laughter], that just worries me because to me, I get the first bit, if a little tough guy can come back after every crime to his housing estate to be welcomed as a hero, I'd say that's a kind of comment on society, that's a worry, but an insult to the republic? I don't know, he's thinking, I just feel like he's taking everything as like, this is my country and do not say this and this is how it goes*

I identified these moments of laughter as a potentially interesting feature to explore when coding the data for 'emotional response to quote' and 'judgement in response to quote'. However, I identified two problems with this approach. One problem is that group characteristics might have made one particular group more likely to make judgemental or emotional comments, making it difficult to compare across the groups. Another problem is that coding for an emotional response in particular involves highly subjective analysis. This problem might have been overcome by having the data analysed independently by a second researcher, but as an individual completing this analysis for my PhD project, I do not have the resources available to arrange this. My solution to these problems was to find a more systematic approach to analysing the theme of 'reduced impact of quotations'. Rather than looking for instances of strong responses to the quotations in the data as a whole, I decided to focus on the participants' response to what Sarkozy said in 2005 (see 3.3.2), which features in three of the four news reports.

### 7.2.2 Response to what Sarkozy said in 2005 part 1 – the ‘racaille’ quote

Given the inflammatory and newsworthy nature of the comments Sarkozy made in the Paris *banlieue* in 2005 (see 3.3.2), I had anticipated that references to these comments in three of the Reuters reports would produce a strong response in all of the groups. I was surprised to find when conducting the focus groups that the participants did not in fact indicate a particularly strong response to this quote, which might be the result of its positioning on the second page of all three of the reports. I did however observe that the participants in the ORIGINAL groups seemed to reproduce the word “scum”, the translation provided for Sarkozy’s ‘racaille’ comment in the reports, more than those in the FOREIGNISED groups. I therefore begin this analysis by looking at the points in the data where the word “scum” is used by the participants as a way to assess the impact of the changes made to foreignise the ‘racaille’ quote specifically.

#### 7.2.2.1 Instances of participants reproducing ‘scum’

The word ‘scum’ when included in the reports is a translation of Sarkozy’s highly contentious use of the French word ‘racaille’ (see 3.3.2). In line with strategy change 2e (see 6.1), the additional translation ‘rabble’ was included in the foreignised reports, providing the readers in the FOREIGNISED groups with the original French term and two possible translations. The changes made to foreignise the translation of the ‘racaille’ quote are outlined in Table 16 below:

Report	Original version	Foreignised version
<b>CRIME POLICIES (PILOT ONLY)</b>	...Sarkozy’s recent reference to suburban youths as “scum”.	...Sarkozy’s recent reference to suburban youths as “racaille”, which most closely translates as “scum” or “rabble”.
<b>THUGOCRACY</b>	...when he branded the rioters “scum”.	...when he branded the rioters “racaille” (which most closely translates as “scum” or “rabble”).
<b>DUMMY</b>	...with a call to rid the Paris suburbs of young “scum”.	...with a call to rid the Paris banlieue - the high-rise residential areas on the outskirts of the city - of “racaille”, which most closely translates as “scum” or “rabble”.

Table 16 - Changes made to Sarkozy’s ‘racaille’ quote in the foreignised reports

A quantitative comparison of the uses of the word ‘scum’ across the groups shows that more mentions were made in the ORIGINAL groups; a total of 13 compared to just two mentions in the FOREIGNISED groups:

Set	ORIGINAL group	Uses of ‘scum’	FOREIGNISED group	Uses of ‘scum’
Pilot	London	5	London	1
A	Newcastle	5	Exeter	1
B	Southampton	3	Southampton	0

Table 17 - Uses of the word ‘scum’ by participants in the 6 focus groups

The fact that the participants in the ORIGINAL groups reproduced the word 'scum' more than those in the FOREIGNISED groups might suggest that the foreignised versions of the quotes had a reduced impact on the participants.

The first time the word 'scum' is mentioned in the ORIGINAL pilot group it is not in direct reference to Sarkozy's inflammatory quote; rather the participants seem to adopt the word 'scum' themselves to refer to a group of people:

*C: yeah, the tear gas, then the boys getting electrocuted, then they're talking about where lots of people live and kind of the scum...*

*S: someone set on fire*

*C: ... there's quite a lot of different issues in quite a small article, but not particularly gone into much detail just sort of bad things I guess they're kind of claiming them as*

*N: they're kind of listing lots of different things*

*V: It would be interesting to see how much of the violence was by trying to combat the riots and how much of it was by people doing criminal activity, if you go through, there's a tear gas incident, there's people being injured because they're escaping from police, how much of it is people playing up, or, you know, the scum doing something and how much of it is a reaction or running away from the police*

*Me: You said the scum, is it clear who we're talking about there? Do we...*

*C: It feels like he's talking about the immigrants and poor families who are living in these high rising estates*

*V: youths, suburban youths, paragraph 17*

*S: yeah, scum*

It is clear however from the data that in referring to *the scum* the participants are consciously attributing the use of the term to Sarkozy; when I ask the group who *the scum* are, the response from 'C' makes the attribution to Sarkozy explicit. The fact that the participants refer to *the scum* in this way is surprising given that the word is only mentioned once in the CRIME POLICIES report they have just read – 'Sarkozy's recent reference to suburban youths as "scum"' – and in the third from last paragraph. That this quoted word has been picked up and used by the participants to discuss the news event suggests that it has had a strong impact, at least upon 'C', who is the first to refer to *the scum* ('V' may not have recalled and reproduced the word had it not just been used by 'C').

The next use of 'scum' comes from 'C' again, after the group has read the IMMIGRATION report (which was read second in the pilot groups). 'C' comments that the first and second reports both

end with a “slightly bizarre statement” and reads part of Sarkozy’s quotation from the last paragraph of the CRIME POLICIES report verbatim:

*C: But at the end of both articles there’s that slightly bizarre statement, the first one was as well, “signal to our fellow citizens of the housing estates that we understand their problems”, but that they’re like scum*

The IMMIGRATION report does not include the ‘*racaille*’ quote; ‘C’ is again reproducing the word “scum” from the third to last paragraph of the CRIME POLICIES report, although like in the previous excerpt, she is not reproducing the ‘*racaille*’ quote directly from the report, just Sarkozy’s use of the word ‘scum’, which appears therefore to have stuck in her mind.

The next mention comes from ‘C’ again, when discussing the third report – THUGOCRACY. In this excerpt, ‘C’ does make direct reference to the ‘*racaille*’ quote and reads it verbatim from the report:

*C: they refer to the, in number 7, grim housing estates, black and north African immigrants, [skips to paragraph 8] say the government has failed to address their problems, it feels like we are referring back to kind of the scum from the first article, it does reference that word*

*N: it uses that quote*

*C: in 13, when he branded the rioters scum, which I think probably happened over here when we had our riots*

*S: yep, it did*

*C: I think we probably branded a lot of the rioters, maybe we didn’t call them scum, but I think we were saying they weren’t particularly nice people*

Following the above excerpt, the participants discuss the riots which happened in London in 2011 (two years prior to the focus group). ‘V’ reflects how the news coverage made it seem “*like the great fire of London was actually happening*” and again adopts the word ‘scum’ without making reference to Sarkozy’s quote:

*V: [the news] does heighten it and again promote a big feeling of scum and of this, that and the other*

The 5 uses of the word ‘scum’ in the ORIGINAL pilot group analysed above seem to indicate that the word has stuck in the participants’ minds and therefore that the un-foreignised ‘*racaille*’ quote has had a strong impact on the participants. This finding is reinforced by the fact that there are also 5 completely separate uses of the word ‘scum’ in ORIGINAL group A. By separate I mean that the word comes up in 5 different discussions, as shown below:



*L: it's all very inflammatory language like scum...*

*L: it says here the response to the riots is to arrest the rioters, he says, and then he branded the rioters scum*

*R: the fact that he's called them scum seems to be following him in every article doesn't it [laughter]*

*R: ...so using he's called all these people scum in this article...*

*L: I knew he was quite an inflammatory figure but I didn't realise he'd called his own public scum and I've clearly missed, I didn't realise he has called them scum and said all these bad things, I knew he was quite an outspoken person but I don't think I was aware of quite how...*

The 5 instances are all from only two of the participants, 'L' and 'R', but this does not necessarily indicate that the 'scum' translation in the 'racaille' quote only had a strong impact on these two participants, since 'L' and 'R' contributed considerably more to the discussions in general.

Further support for the finding that the un-foreignised 'racaille' quote had a strong impact on participants comes from the fact that the participants in the remaining ORIGINAL group (group B) use the word "scum" 3 times. These 3 instances are however all in the same discussion after having read the THUGOCRACY report. Their response to the quote is arguably strong and judgemental toward Sarkozy:

*L: it's just very negative, I was reading it and... it's just really negative, like scum, and thugocracy and burnt out libraries and smashed shop windows, it's painting a picture of like a third world country when it's really not and he doesn't I don't think he seems to have any ideas about social issues at all when his answer is just lock them up, essentially just lock them up and that's not the answer*

*I: it's almost like he's provoking them, like he's asking them out for a fight, when he branded the rioters scum, it's almost like a bully isn't it*

*L: it's very emotive*

*I: he's like you're nothing but scum, it's very aggressive*

*J: it's a very aggressive tone*

As shown in Table 17 above, there are far fewer instances of the participants using the word 'scum' in the FOREIGNISED groups. In the FOREIGNISED pilot group, 'scum' is mentioned only once. In the short excerpt below, 'E' is making reference to the 'racaille' quote in the THUGOCRACY report:

*E: Bringing up these issues where he called them scum and rabble*

As shown in Table 16 above, the 'racaille' quote is foreignised in the THUGOCRACY report by giving the original French term along with two translations, "'scum" or "rabble"'. 'E' states that

"he called them scum and rabble", rather than "scum or rabble", which might suggest that she has not recognised that the two terms are provided as two possible translations. However, the use of 'and' may simply be a slip of the tongue, in which case the fact that 'E' reproduces both translations may indicate that the strategy of giving the original French word, along with two possible translations, has had the intended effect of nuancing the representation of what Sarkozy said (see strategy change 2e in 6.1) and thus reducing the impact of the more inflammatory 'scum' translation<sup>100</sup>. Adding weight to this possibility is the fact that, as is shown below, in FOREIGNISED group A too, 'A' also mentions both the translations when referring to the quote in the THUGOCRACY report.

*A: it doesn't put into context why he said they were scum or rabble*

As in the FOREIGNISED pilot group, there is only one mention of 'scum' in FOREIGNISED group A (the excerpt immediately above). There is, however, another point in the data which is relevant to the current discussion.

When the group are discussing the THUGOCRACY report, 'L' references the '*racaille*' quote which is included as background information near the end of the report, *without* mentioning the word 'scum':

*L: ...if you read number 13 and it's saying basically, 2 years ago, he's already really annoyed a lot of people, including those unconnected...*

The (foreignised) paragraph 'L' refers to is the following:

In 2005 Sarkozy triggered outrage, including among many people unconnected with the unrest, when he branded the rioters "racaille" (which most closely translates as "scum" or "rabble")

It is possible that 'L' simply trailed off (feeling she had made her point) before getting to the quoted words, or that the presence of the foreign language caused her to trail off. However, it seems significant that 'L' refers to the quote without mentioning the word "scum" and that there is only one mention of the word in total in FOREIGNISED group A, when comparing to the 5 uses of the word in the ORIGINAL group it is paired with (as seen above). The participants in

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<sup>100</sup> As mentioned in 3.3.2, the BBC and Guardian rejected the translation 'scum' in favour of 'rabble'.

FOREIGNISED group B do not mention the word 'scum' at all, compared to 5 mentions in ORIGINAL group B (as seen above).

#### **Summary of observations - response to the '*racaille*' quote**

The appreciably higher number of uses of the word 'scum' across the ORIGINAL groups when compared to the FOREIGNISED groups may indicate that the changes made to foreignise the '*racaille*' quote have resulted in the quotation having a reduced impact on the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups. Reading the original reports, the participants in the ORIGINAL groups read that Sarkozy used the word "scum" to refer to a group of people. By comparison, reading the 'foreignised' reports, the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups read that Sarkozy used the word '*racaille*' to refer to a group of people; they have access to the original French and two possible translations. It is worth stressing that, as a result of the changes to foreignise the quote, the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups do not read that Sarkozy used the word 'scum' to refer to a group of people; and, as shown in the analysis above, they do not seem to pick up on and attribute this word to Sarkozy as the participants in the ORIGINAL groups do. By providing the original French along with two translations, perhaps the foreignised reports have successfully signalled to the participants that terms "scum", or "rabble" are a translation of what Sarkozy said in French, resulting in a less strong response to the quotation among participants in the FOREIGNISED groups.

It is possible that the presence of the foreign language (*racaille*) may have contributed to the lower number of mentions of 'scum' in the FOREIGNISED groups, either by creating a 'repel' effect (conceived of as the participant being put off by the presence of the foreign language and therefore paying less attention to the foreignised part<sup>101</sup>) or by making the text hard to follow. However, as seen in the reading ease analysis in Chapter 8, there is nothing in the data to suggest that the strategy changes have resulted in the text being hard to follow. '*Racaille*' is arguably a difficult word to know how to pronounce if you are not a French speaker; perhaps, were this not the case, the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups would have used the original French word when discussing this quote (in an excerpt analysed above we see 'L'

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<sup>101</sup> The conjectured 'repel' effect would have been very interesting to explore if I could have somehow collected eye-tracking data simultaneously.

discuss the quote without using either the French word in quotation marks of the translations provided in brackets).

In the following section, the comparative analysis of the participants' response to Sarkozy's 'racaille' quote is complemented by analysis of the response to the second part of what Sarkozy said in 2005 – the 'Karcher' quote.

### 7.2.3 Response to what Sarkozy said in 2005 part 2 – the 'Karcher' quote

The 'Karcher' quote is only included in one of the reports in the corpus, SECURITY. The analysis of response to this quote is limited to the two sets (A & B) of focus groups conducted as the main study since the SECURITY report was not included in the pilot study corpus. The changes I made to foreignise the quotation can be seen in the part underlined in the comparison below:

<b>ORIGINAL:</b>	Sarkozy's uncompromising position with the mostly young rioters when he was interior minister and his pledge to <u>clean them out with an industrial cleaner</u> generated deep hostility among many in the suburbs and he has rarely returned.
<b>FOREIGNISED:</b>	Sarkozy's uncompromising position with the mostly young rioters when he was interior minister and his pledge to <u>"nettoyer au karcher" an estate (clean it out with a Karcher industrial cleaner)</u> generated deep hostility among many in the banlieues and he has rarely returned.

There are 4 references to the 'Karcher' quote in the data from sets A & B, one in FOREIGNISED group A, two in FOREIGNISED group B and one in ORIGINAL group B. The instances are analysed below in this order.

In ORIGINAL group A, no reference is made to the quote, by comparison it comes up almost immediately in FOREIGNISED group A. The SECURITY report was the first to be read in the main study focus groups; the very first comment made in FOREIGNISED group A, made after reading the SECURITY report, was the following:

*L: I think Sarkozy sounds quite good in this, at the beginning*

The group then discusses for a while how the report starts off by giving a fairly good impression of Sarkozy, which then deteriorates – “*and then there’s all that stuff on the back*<sup>102</sup> *that makes him sound quite anti-immigrant identity really*” (‘J’). In this discussion the different pieces of information the journalist provides about Sarkozy’s policies are considered, without particular attention being paid to the quotations included. I ask ‘L’ to tell me what had prompted her initial comment:

*L: Well the first, paragraphs one to five, sound very positive and sound very ‘I’ve been here and I know what the problems are, I’m going to make it better for you, but then on the back we see what he’s done in the past where he’s going to deep clean with an industrial cleaner all of you guys, ...*

‘L’ paraphrases the quote, retaining the verb ‘clean’ (adapted to ‘deep clean’) and the words ‘industrial cleaner’ from the translation provided in brackets. Although she has clearly registered the quotation as reflecting negatively on Sarkozy, her response is arguably not particularly strong.

Like in FOREIGNISED group A, reference is made to the ‘Karcher’ quote almost immediately in FOREIGNISED group B, although the reference is not as direct. Like ‘L’ in the excerpt above, here ‘D’ does not reproduce the quote directly, but whereas ‘L’ clearly identifies the location of the quote in the SECURITY report (which she had just read), ‘D’ does not appear to recall the quote, although it has clearly stuck in her mind:

*D: I don’t think it was lots of promises, because he basically promised to get rid of ghettos and everyone who lived in them, he wanted to literally wipe them*

*Me: where is that?*

*D: well it’s reading through all of it when he said he wanted to, the merciless war against gangs and drug traffickers and regenerate the ethnically diverse quartiers, erm, we will put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking, I think in all of them he was like...*

The second reference to the ‘Karcher’ quote in FOREIGNISED group B comes later, when the group have read all of the reports and are discussing them generally. Like ‘D’, here ‘J’ does not appear to recall the quote, although it has clearly stuck in her mind:

*J: He made it sound like he was going to cleanse the country of a lot of people that he felt didn’t have a right to be in that country*

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<sup>102</sup> The reports were printed onto one sheet of paper, meaning the reports continued on the back of the same sheet.

I ask 'J' soon after she makes the above comment where it says Sarkozy was going to "cleanse the country", her response is "it doesn't say that but that's how I read that".

In ORIGINAL group B, the reference to the 'Karcher' quote comes at the beginning of the focus group, in the initial discussion of the SECURITY report after it is read. In this instance, 'I' reproduces the (un-foreignised) quote verbatim:

*I: yeah, that's what I mean, "clean them out with an industrial cleaner", it's very aggressive*  
*L: wasn't there like deghetto-ised or something*  
*J: I don't even know what that word means*  
*L: cleaning up the ghettos [jokey tone and laughter]*

The fact that 'I' qualifies the quote as "*very aggressive*" indicates a strong response. In the same excerpt, 'L', reproduces the 'Karcher' quote after 'I' has done, using a 'jokey' tone and laughing. As discussed earlier in the chapter, I observed during the focus groups that participants in the ORIGINAL groups sometimes laughed in response to quotations, which I interpret as a possible indication of a strong response to the quote (see 7.2.1).

#### **Summary of observations - response to the 'Karcher' quote**

While there are more references to the 'Karcher' quote in the FOREIGNISED groups, the response of the participants appears to be less strong than the response of the two participants who reproduce the quote in ORIGINAL group B. What is more, while the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups loosely paraphrase the quote, the participants in the ORIGINAL group reproduce it verbatim. The representation of the 'Karcher' quote appears to have produced a less strong response among the participants when foreignised. The participants in the FOREIGNISED groups are not responding to a translated version of Sarkozy's words, they are responding to the sentiment of the words communicated by the explanation in brackets. This might therefore indicate that the strategy changes have succeeded in avoiding the need for the journalist to intervene and fix the representation of what Sarkozy said in translation, since the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups do not readily reproduce Sarkozy's words in the same way as those in the ORIGINAL groups.

The mention of the 'Karcher' quote in the ORIGINAL group also supports the observation made on the basis of the response to the '*racaille*' quote (see 7.2.2) that the participants in the

ORIGINAL groups, having read reports which quoted Sarkozy directly in English translation, reproduced the wording of that translation more than those in the FOREIGNISED groups. The observation that the participants in the ORIGINAL groups reproduced the reports verbatim considerably more than the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups is explored in Chapter 9 as a possible indication of increased engagement among the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups.

## Chapter 8

### Reading ease: the impact of the changes

The concept of 'reading ease' is central to this research project. Like 'translation awareness', it features in RQ3, where I ask what might be the impact of the strategy changes on 'reading ease' (see 3.2.2 for a description of the application of this term in this thesis). As such, 'reading ease' is an *a priori* theme in the analysis. I begin the analysis by looking at what the participants say to indicate reading ease or difficulty (8.1). The focus group methodology used means I do not need to rely on reported data solely, and can explore other indications of reading ease observed in the data. In the second part of the chapter I explore the observations that the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups did not experience any difficulty handling the foreign language added to the reports and did not find its presence odd or undesirable (8.2). In each section the data from each set is presented in turn, starting with focus group set A, then set B, and finally the pilot study.

#### 8.1 Reports of reading ease or difficulty

In this section, I present excerpts from the focus group transcripts which contain comments relating to reading ease or difficulty. Many of the comments were spontaneous but others were prompted by questions aimed at generating data related to the *a priori* theme of reading ease. The majority of these questions were written into the discussion guide but others were asked spontaneously to probe into the participants' experience of the reading ease/difficulty.

Examples of questions related to the theme of reading ease in the discussion guide are:

*What kind of audience would you say these reports are aimed at?*

*What do you like/dislike about the way the reports are written, if anything?*

*None of us here have a particular knowledge about France or French politics, do you think the reports are written at the right level for us as readers?*

*What feedback would you give the journalist?*

Examples of spontaneous questions are:

*Was anything difficult in them in terms of the language or the level of information or was it all easy to digest?*

*What about anyone else, are you happy with the language?*

*I think you thought the first one was difficult to read, did you find some more easy to read than others?*



### 8.1.1 Comparing reports of reading ease/difficulty in Set A

The participants in FOREIGNISED group A repeatedly reported reading ease. There are ten points in the data when reading ease is reported, half of which were spontaneous (not prompted by a question targeting the theme), including the first instance, which came within the first five minutes of discussion:

*J: I found it easy to read, it didn't try to put across too many points, it wasn't too in depth, it didn't feel like wading through a text book, it was short*

I asked the participants on two occasions whether they thought the journalist expected their audience to have any prior knowledge, once in relation to a specific report, and once about the four reports collectively. The aim of this question (a variant of which I asked each of the groups) was to determine whether the participants felt confident in the understanding they had got from reading through the reports. On both occasions the Exeter participants reported feeling background knowledge was not assumed, that “*you could just pick it up and read it*”.

Towards the end of the focus group, when discussing the reports collectively, I asked the participants about reading ease directly:

*Me: did you find them all easy to read, was there anything you didn't like about the way they read?*

*A: yeah, they were easy*

*L: yeah they were okay*

*J: yeah I think as someone who doesn't know anything about French politics I didn't feel like there were bits of it that didn't make sense*

*Me: okay, you didn't have to read anything twice*

*J: no, I think the very first one, there was that technical term and I thought I don't know what that is but then it explained it, the name for the suburban ghettos, I can't remember what it was*

*B: yeah I think they did that in a couple of the articles actually*

*A: they did yeah*

*L: yeah, any French words they put the translation in*

*A: I think I'm someone who, well, not the best reader makes me sound like a complete idiot, but...*

*L: well I don't read the Times because I find the sentences too long and complicated*

*A: I don't read quickly and I often do have to read things twice to really compute them whereas with this, although I just read it quickly, I didn't need to read things twice, it was quite easy*

This excerpt shows all four participants in agreement that the reports are easy to understand, even for “*someone who doesn't know anything about French politics*” or is “*not the best reader*”. Without being prompted, and despite not having been mentioned in the discussion prior to this

point, the presence of foreign language is used as an example of the reports being written in a way that makes them easy to understand – “*yeah, any French words they put the translation in*”. In order to help gauge how straightforward participants found the reports to read, I also asked what audience they thought the reports were aimed at. Only one participant in FOREIGNISED group A responded directly to this question, but expressed a view that the reports were written for a general audience, which was not challenged by others in the group; “*simple people who like a good story like me*”.

The audience question prompted a similar single response in ORIGINAL group A (“*I would say a very general audience*”) but overall the ORIGINAL group demonstrated more difficulty reading the reports. Two of the participants in particular indicated difficulty understanding the reports at three different points in the discussion. On each occasion, the difficulty seems to be attributed to not having sufficient background knowledge; the participants describe understanding the reports better after reading more of the reports and discussing them as a group:

*C: the first couple in particular seemed to have bits that at the time didn't add, they didn't seem to always to go together, you're talking about immigration in the first one and talking about riots and you're sort of a bit like... now I've read more, I now understand more, but reading them at first I was a bit like, what? But reading them now it does makes more sense*

*L: yeah, they do assume you have some background knowledge*

*C: yeah, they do whereas I didn't, I was like, why is that relevant? Now we've read more articles I do think I understand why that is relevant*

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*C: but actually I think I understand the first article more now that I've read the other articles, I don't think what is he talking about? What is it talking about? it makes more sense*

*L: yeah, it makes more sense now you've got it in the context of there were riots and things like that*

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*L: I found the first one quite difficult to read, but I don't know if that's just because I don't read newspaper articles very often, then by the end the last one was quite easy to read, but I wouldn't hand on my heart say that is definitely just because of the articles themselves or whether it was just getting into the swing of it*

Towards the end of the ORIGINAL focus group I asked the participants what feedback they would give the journalists, ‘L’ responded “*more background information*”, (except on D – IMMIGRATION - “*because I don't think that needs background information really*”), which, given the comments seen above, may further indicate that ‘L’ found the reports difficult to understand. I then asked directly about the language, which is not reported to have been the source of any difficulty:

G: *I think the language is quite simple mostly*  
 R: *there weren't any words that I didn't understand*  
 L: *apart from the made up ones [laughter]*  
 C: *I did quite enjoy the word ghettoization*  
 R: *deghettoization, but you can sort of guess what that means, it's not like ostensibly or some other word that I would have to go and look up in a dictionary*  
 L: *it's still Sarkozy making a word up*  
 R: *yeah but when George Bush made words up you kind of knew what he was talking about*  
 G: *yeah I think if you make up a word you normally do it by merging two words together that make sense to you*  
 R: *but the journalists haven't put any words in that I wouldn't know what they meant, not trying to be too clever*

Comparing what participants in FOREIGNISED group A reported with what participants in ORIGINAL group A reported does not indicate that the changes made to foreignise the reports have negatively impacted reading ease, since the only reports of reading difficulty were from participants in the ORIGINAL group. This suggests that the overall reading ability of the ORIGINAL group may be lower than that of the FOREIGNISED group, which in turn raises the possibility that had I given the ORIGINAL group the foreignised reports to read instead, the data from Set A would have indicated a negative impact on reading ease. Nevertheless, putting the comparative element of the analysis aside, on the basis of the reported data from FOREIGNISED group A, the strategy changes did not have a negative impact on reading ease. However, as shown in the analysis of the response to foreign language in 8.2, there is one instance in FOREIGNISED group A where the use of foreign language in a headline is shown to be problematic.

### **8.1.2 Comparing reports of reading ease/difficulty in Set B**

When I asked the participants in FOREIGNISED group B what kind of audience they thought the reports were aimed at the first answer, from 'C', is "*Telegraph readers*", qualified by 'J' as "*intellectual people, people who read about world politics*". When I ask 'C' what gave her the impression it was aimed at an educated reader, she explains – "*the term Reuters always makes me think of an upper class paper, the stock market*", whereas 'J' reported "*it's the way they're written*". When I asked 'J' to elaborate however, it was the subject matter, not the language, which she made reference to:

*it's aimed at the middle class and upper class, I don't think that people living in a deprived area*

*would be that interested in politics*

However, as this discussion continues, the foreign language is mentioned as having an impact on the reading ease:

*Me: so if they were to read them [people living in a deprived area], do you think they're accessible, do you think they are challenging or easy to read?*

*L: I thought it was quite easy reading given that you're going back quite a while*

*Me: and if you were just reading this on your lunch break, on your phone...?*

*C: I'd probably have to chew a couple of bits over a couple of times*

*D: would you?*

*C: it's got some new vocabulary in there, some French*

*Me: could you give me an example?*

*L: that word that 'C' mentioned [they all attempt to pronounce deghettoization]*

In this excerpt, 'L', who expressed her agreement that the reports are aimed at a middle class audience, describes the reports as "*quite easy reading*". When 'C' says she would need to "*chew a couple of bits over*" she is challenged by 'D', who, by her intonation, seems to find this surprising. The explanation 'C' gives in reply is that there is "*some new vocabulary, in there, some French*", the example is not however one of the French words, but 'deghettoization'.

The fact that the participant does not mention one of the French words here might have been explained by the fact that she did not feel comfortable reading a French word aloud, however, she is unable to pronounce 'deghettoization' (as are the other participants when they come to her aid). Another possibility is that 'C' was not able to recall the foreign words, whereas 'deghettoization', at least, has the familiar word 'ghetto' as its root. A further possibility, and arguably the most likely, is that because all of the French words in the report have a translation or explanation, 'deghettoization', which she mistakes for a French word, but which, being an English construction, is not explained in the text, is the only word which presented any difficulty.

The previous excerpt is followed by a fairly lengthy debate about what might be an appropriate reading age for the reports. Having, as we saw above, identified an educated, middle class target audience, the group debate whether school children under the age of 16 would be able to read the reports. Only 'D' felt that the reports would be suitable to give to children below this age to read in the classroom. The arguments offered by the other participants that the reports are not suitable for under 16s are based mainly on the fact that the children will not be

interested in the subject matter; even when the terminology is mentioned, the comment is not that it is too challenging for the children, but that it would not 'appeal' to them:

*J: there's an awful lot of terminology in there that probably wouldn't appeal to a lot of...*

When I picked up on the point about the terminology, the argument again came back to a lack of interest:

*Me: 'J', you felt that some of the terminology might be a bit challenging*

*J: yeah I think some of the children in the younger age group would find it quite challenging to read the article and actually be able to filter out what was really important, I think for a lot of them it would be above their level, you're always going to get the super intelligent but I think a normal child in the school who is in year 8, 9 or 10 probably wouldn't have any interest, would you set a lesson around Sarkozy?*

A short while later I asked for examples of challenging terminology to give the participants the opportunity to mention any of the foreign language they struggled with in the reports, but the group is silent in response:

*Me: do you have any examples of terminology they might struggle with? Because 'J' mentioned there might be some little bits that might be difficult*  
*[no response]*

It is possible that the participants had instances of foreign language in mind but were unable to locate them in the reports in the time I allowed them to respond (I waited ten seconds before prompting). However, if this was the case, a response referring to the foreign language generally, without a specific example, might have been offered to fill the silence. Foreign language is mentioned when I prompt further:

*Me: we already talked about deghettoization, 'C' you said you'd like to Google that*

*L: yeah I'd like to know what that is because I really haven't got any idea what that is*

*J: if you've got no knowledge of any of the places they are talking about, you know, some of them probably wouldn't be able to pronounce it, they wouldn't really understand the word*

*D: well would we [stress on 'we']? I've never heard of Villiers-le-Bel [perfect pronunciation], that would mean nothing to me*

*J: that's what I'm saying*

*D: from that point of view it wouldn't make a difference if they were 15 or 50 would it*

*J: they might take all the lesson from everyone putting their hand up saying miss what does this say, what does this say*

*Me: so do you think it leaves certain things unexplained for the reader?*

*D: no because I think you could read that as a place*

*J: well lots of things are in brackets explaining what those terminologies mean*

*L: I think Villiers-le-Bel probably they would know that that would be a little town or a little village, well I don't know, some kids might not*

Following my prompt, foreign place names are mentioned (with Villiers-le-Bel, which is not an instance of foreignisation, as the example), but not the foreign language I added specifically. However, since I added *banlieue* and *quartier* to the reports, words effectively referring to places, it is possible that the participants might have been thinking of these foreign words also, particularly since the provision of explanations in brackets is mentioned. As seen in the excerpt above where 'deghettoisation' is given as an example of a French word creating reading difficulty, here again, the participants do not mention any of the French words I added to the report when discussing the "terminologies" that might challenge a younger audience. Furthermore, here, the possibility that the participants were avoiding reading French words aloud is reduced, since 'D' gives the lengthy place name 'Villiers-le-Bel' as an example.

The participants seem to agree that the terminology would not prevent children under the age of 16 understanding the reports, because the terminology is explained in brackets, and the place names are clear. 'J' does start off by mentioning that children may have difficulty pronouncing and understanding place names, before then agreeing with others in the group that the "terminologies" do not present a problem because the explanations are given in brackets. Quite possibly, 'J's initial comment is a reflection of her own experience of reading the reports, but then, after hearing the views of the others, she observes that explanations for foreign words are provided in brackets. Whilst it is possible that 'J' does not really agree with the others, and therefore that she may have found the foreign language more challenging than the above excerpt suggests, there are other points in the focus group where she openly disagrees with the others, which suggests she is not afraid of expressing a minority view.

Having previously said that she felt the target audience of the reports was "Telegraph readers", 'C' later makes another comment along the same lines which might indicate that she found the reports fairly challenging to read. Again, it is unclear what exactly gives her the impression. She comments that they are suited to someone like her father, "Oxford educated, serious, reads everything going in the Telegraph". When I ask whether that is because of the subject matter or language, she answers "both" and then elaborates, "I think it's kind of a Tory thing", when I ask

her to explain further, her answer is confused, but she goes on to clarify "*I think it's quite seriously written*". It is unclear from 'C's response whether the language itself, foreignised or otherwise, has caused any reading difficulty, or whether it is the content and reporting style that give her the impression that the reports are written for right-wing, educated readers.

Despite probing whenever reference was made to the terminology or language, at no point is there a firm statement to indicate reading difficulty directly attributed to the strategy changes. I do however have the impression that two of the participants ('C' and 'J') found the reading level quite high, contrary to the impression of another of the participants who described the reports as "*straightforward reading*". It might be the case therefore that some participants experienced reading difficulty as a result of the strategy changes, while others did not. However, since nothing specific is reported, it is quite possible that it was not the changes made to foreignise the reports but the language used in the original reports that caused 'C' and 'J' to find the reports difficult to read (which is, I reiterate, only an impression). Comparison with ORIGINAL group B might help to assess whether any reading difficulty experienced in the FOREIGNISED group might result from features of the original reports, rather than the changes made to foreignise them.

As in the FOREIGNISED group, the participants in the ORIGINAL group were not in agreement with regard to the reading level of the reports. The question about what kind of audience the participants thought the reports were aimed at prompted one of the participants, who like participants in the FOREIGNISED group, felt the target audience was "*well-educated*", to talk about challenging terminology:

*J: the terminology they've used as well, it's almost as if you've got to have a well-educated background to be able to understand all the words. If I started reading an article like that I'd switch off halfway through*

*Me: all 4 of them?*

*J: I found all 4 of them hard going because of the terminology, some of the words, I didn't even know what they were meaning*

*I: I would disagree*

*Me: have you got any examples 'J'?*

*J: there was that ghetto one*

*L: ghettorize*

*I: that is a word people would know, ghetto*

*L: thugocracy*

As is demonstrated by this excerpt, 'J' found the terminology "hard going", whereas 'I' did not. Having not heard the opinion of the remaining two participants, I asked them what they thought of the language. At the end of the excerpt above, 'L' offers 'thugocracy' as an example of a challenging word but then, in response to my question, reports that the language was clear:

*L: I understood the language, I understood what they were trying to say, it was more the tone of the language I didn't like rather than the words themselves because some of them were really aggressive*

*K: yeah the language is as you'd expect it to be really*

Later on 'L', 'K' and 'I' responded positively to my question about whether they think they would be interested in reading *Reuters* reports in the future, I then asked the group "so do we think they are generally easy to read?" and probed further about 'J's' view of the reading level:

*L, K & I: yeah*

*K: they're pretty accessible I think*

*Me: what about you 'J'? You said something about the language*

*J: I just think that's my own personal opinion to be honest, it's my level of English and how I like to read, it's just my own personal opinion, I mean, if my husband read these he wouldn't have an issue with it, it's just my own level of how I like to read, if that makes sense*

The views about the reading level of the reports demonstrated in the excerpt above are consistent with what is reported in the rest of the focus group. 'J' is not reticent about expressing the minority view or admitting the difficulty experienced with the language, which makes me as certain as I can be that the other participants did not share her view, as they should have felt comfortable in doing so.

'J's' response to the terminology in the original reports adds weight to the conclusion that rather than being the result of changes I made to foreignise the reports, any reading difficulty indicated in the FOREIGNISED group would have been experienced by the same participants if they had read the original reports instead. Particularly since those participants in the FOREIGNISED group did not directly link the reading level to the foreign language in the reports; the only examples given were 'deghettoization' (which was also given as an example of challenging terminology in the ORIGINAL group) and a place name (which of course also appears in the original report).



### 8.1.3 Comparing reports of reading ease/difficulty – Pilot study

After completing the pilot study I made two changes before proceeding with the main study; firstly I foreignised the strategy further by introducing foreign language into the headlines and leads (see 6.2.2 for details) and I replaced one of the news reports (CRIME POLICIES) which both groups in the pilot study found difficult to read because, as the participants reported, it is “disjointed” and contains lots of information without going into much detail on any of the points. This report seems to have been largely responsible for the impression in both groups that some background knowledge is required to read the reports:

*FOREIGNISED pilot group: ...someone who has been following it, and does just want a lot of facts, a little summary, while they're on their lunch break, just clicking on a headline, it might be perfect for them, but I do think you need to know a bit before*

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*ORIGINAL pilot group: they don't go into too much detail, really, especially not the 1<sup>st</sup> one, so people who are involved in that and aware of it already*

As discussed in 3.3.1, I replaced the CRIME POLICIES report in the main study to avoid discussion about the structure of the reports, which is not relevant to the research questions. As a result of this report being included in the pilot study (particularly because it was read first), it may have meant the participants in the pilot study had a different overall experience of the reading ease of the reports than those in sets A & B. However, this does not prevent a comparative analysis of the FOREIGNISED and ORIGINAL pilot groups, as completed for the two sets in the main study above.

After first reporting that the CRIME POLICIES report was hard to read, the response of the participants in the FOREIGNISED pilot group to the second report, IMMIGRATION, is much more positive:

*'C': ...it was just lovely [laughter]. I feel like I could go and talk to someone about this, rather than the last one where I was lost, I felt stupid like I don't know what's going on*

One of the participants, 'D', describes the reports collectively as “quite hard to read”, but when I asked what she thought made them hard to read she attributed it to not having any interest because the news is from France, not the UK. Later in the focus group the same view is shared by 'L':

*I've got no interest in politics, no interest in France, so it just doesn't work for me and maybe that's*

*why I can't read it very well*

The same participant later describes how she is able to understand the reports and have a “*light discussion*” about them but not “*form an opinion*”. Another participant, ‘C’ also indicates feeling that the understanding allowed by the reports is limited, which again appears to be attributed to not having enough information to get a balanced view:

*...yes I completely understand them and what's in them gives me enough to understand the problem and there's statistics in them, apart from D, to be able to go OK, the outcome of like the immigration, the figures are going down, I pull out what I need to and I understand the whole story, but in terms of wider context, no, I couldn't go and have a proper conversation on immigration just from the article because you don't know what the other side is*

Any indications of reading difficulty, aside from those relating to the CRIME POLICIES report specifically, are attributed to a lack of interest in the subject matter or an awareness that there is more to the news events than is included in the reports. At no point do the participants talk about challenging or foreign language making the reports hard to read.

Like in FOREIGNISED group B, in response to the question about who the target audience for the reports might be, the FOREIGNISED pilot group describe an educated group:

*E: I think people in their twenties, maybe people studying, people who have access to the internet  
C: I'd say from graduates upwards, no age cap, especially because a lot of the stuff, I don't know if it's because I know the kind of audience that is their target, or not their target, but the kind of articles I associate this agency with lean to people who are graduated, educated, and kind of like interested in these things*

This response does not do much to reflect the participants' view of how easy the reports were to read, particularly since the discussion of this particular point is drawn to a close by ‘C’ conceding that this impression might have come from preconceptions about *Reuters* rather than the reports themselves.

The response to the audience question in the ORIGINAL pilot group was as follows:

*C: they don't go into too much detail, really, especially not the first one, so people who are involved in that and aware of it already*

The other participants then second the view that the reader is expected to possess background knowledge, or to not want much information. While what is said in response to the question is not illuminating with regard to the participants' perception of the reading level, they did not specify an educated reader, which might indicate that the participants reading the original reports found them accessible for readers generally.

There are no strong indications of either reading ease or difficulty in the data from the ORIGINAL pilot group, but on the whole the participants seemed happy that they could read the reports and get a general understanding. One of the participants, 'V', reported that they were "quite easy to read in terms of the language" and made a comparison to the British newspaper the *Daily Mail*, after describing the level as "above the *Sun* and the *Star*". Contrary to the group reading the foreignised reports, the participants in this group appear to be happy with the level of information in the reports:

*C: it doesn't really leave things open, or hanging, it does really feel like a little summary of what's happening here and there, it doesn't leave like big holes or it doesn't feel like there is big gaps in the stories or anything, I don't feel like I've missed something*

Reports of the reading level in the pilot study are not very clear, which is in part due to the fact that both of the groups began with the participants talking about the CRIME POLICIES report being challenging to read. Unlike in the main study, the pilot study participants did not talk about either the foreign language I added to the foreignised reports nor the foreign (or unfamiliar) words in the original reports when reporting on reading ease/difficulty. It is worth noting however that the word which came up in different groups as challenging in the main study – deghettoisation – is from the SECURITY report, which was not read in the pilot study groups. The participants in the FOREIGNISED pilot group did not report to have found the French words challenging or undesirable.

### **Summary of observations on reports of reading ease**

Participants in the foreignised groups seemed more conscious of having a limited understanding of the news events being reported; this could indicate that the foreignised elements had a negative impact on reading ease (i.e. that their understanding has been limited as a result of the foreignised elements). However, another interpretation is possible; the

foreignised elements increased the participants' engagement with the news story being reported, thereby heightening their awareness of what else they do not know, and might be interested in knowing. This possibility is explored in depth in Chapter 9, where indications of the impact of strategy changes on cosmopolitan openness are presented and analysed.

Comparing reports of reading ease or difficulty in the data from the FOREIGNISED and ORIGINAL groups in each set does not indicate that the strategy changes have had a negative impact on reading ease since any indications of reading difficulty in the FOREIGNISED groups cannot be related directly to the presence of foreign language in the reports. In the second part of the current chapter, the analysis of reports of reading ease/difficulty is complemented by analysis of how the participants handled the foreign language phrases during the discussion in order to build a richer picture of the impact of the changes.

## **8.2 Response to foreign language**

During the focus groups I noted that participants sometimes avoided pronouncing or struggled to pronounce the foreign language I had added to the news reports. This observation led me to question whether the presence of foreign language was causing the participants to skip over certain details (a possible 'repel' effect conjectured also in 7.2.2) or whether this strategy change was causing participants to feel alienated by foreign language, in which case it might be "detrimental to understanding" (Bassnett, 2005 p.127). Equally, however, there were instances where the participants used or read verbatim a foreign word without hesitation or difficulty. Furthermore, instances where participants avoided pronouncing or struggled to pronounce foreign words were not exclusive to the groups reading the foreignised reports; the presence of foreign names or non-standard English vocabulary in the original reports also caused difficulty. Participants struggled in particular with the word 'thugocracy', a translation of a French word used by Sarkozy, which they took to be a made up word, and 'deghettoization'.

Analysing how participants handled the foreign language phrases in the foreignised reports can help gauge whether these strategy changes, which involve introducing foreign language into the news reports, might have a negative impact on reading ease. This is done by looking closely at the points in the data where the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups are making reference to information which has been foreignised. I also look at how the participants in the ORIGINAL

groups handled language that was foreign to them in the original reports to consider whether the results of this stage of the analysis might have been different had I given the ORIGINAL group the foreignised reports instead.

### 8.2.1 Handling foreign language – Set A

An important conclusion regarding the ways in which it might be possible to introduce foreign language into global news reports can be drawn from the data collected from the FOREIGNISED group in set A. After the pilot study, since the data did not show any clear signs of the foreign language impacting the participants' reading ease, I made the decision to take the foreignisation further and introduce foreign language into the headlines (which was to be avoided in the previous version of the strategy, see 6.2.2). This change did not have an impact on any of the three reports I used in the pilot study, but did impact the SECURITY report which was new for the main study. The headline 'Sarkozy pledges to beef up French **suburb** security' became 'Sarkozy pledges to beef up French **banlieue** security'. The following clearly demonstrates the negative impact of this change on reading ease:

*Me: from the headlines, which one do you think you'd be most likely to read?*

*A: I think I would probably read B & D*

*L: same. I think A sounds quite powerful though – beef up – it's going to make some big strong movements*

*B: I don't know what a banlieue is so I'd probably have not looked at it*

*J: yeah I didn't know what that was*

As 'B' reports here (seconded by 'J'), the use of a foreign word that he did not understand in the headline would have prevented him from reading the news report at all. Although I also asked each of the groups the same question about the headlines that prompted the above comments, this is the only piece of data from the two FOREIGNISED groups in the main study that gives any indication of the impact of the introduction of the foreign language in this headline.

Discussions of news reading habits in the focus groups show 'B' to read the news more than any of the other participants (who do not seem to be regular readers of the news):

*L: I think with online news now you do pick and choose what you read a lot more rather than having a newspaper, we rarely get a newspaper*

*B: and I make quite a conscious effort, I go onto Google News, and if I read a story that's from The Guardian, I know it's going to be a little bit more towards the left, and if I read something from the*

*Telegraph, I know it's going to be a little more biased to the right*

*L: do you read the alternatives? Other newspapers?*

*B: there are very few, you can't get access to the Times... I find it quite interesting to read the American opinion, if you go to something like the New York Times and Fox news, to see the difference in two stories*

The fact that 'B' reads the news regularly and from a wide number of sources makes his response to the foreign word *banlieue* in this headline of particular interest, since, as I discuss in 6.2.2, a number of British newspapers, including two 'B' mentions reading (*The Guardian* and *The Telegraph*) often include the word, without a translation, in their own headlines (a practice which encouraged my decision to do the same). Given the importance the news agencies attach to producing reporting that is easy to read and that will attract readers' interest, and the subsequent importance attached to these points in this research project, I conclude that introducing foreign language into the headlines of global news reports is not a viable strategy change.

The excerpt discussed above is the only example of participants in FOREIGNISED group A struggling with the foreign language phrases I introduced into the reports. As demonstrated in the previous section looking at what the participants said to indicate reading ease or difficulty, the participants explicitly mentioned "*technical terms*" being explained and "*French words*" being translated when reporting reading ease. The THUGOCRACY report contains the most instances of the culture-specific terms *banlieue*, *cité* and *quartier* (there are seven in total). It is also arguably the most challenging in terms of the foreignisation since *banlieue* is used first in the lead paragraph – a change made post-pilot study – but is not explained until the second paragraph (to avoid a lengthy explanation in the lead paragraph in line strategy change 1c – see 6.1). Any foreign language in the lead paragraphs of the other reports is explained or translated immediately since there was room to do so without risking reducing the impact of the lead.

The following excerpt shows how 'A' coped with the challenge represented by the foreign language in the THUGOCRACY report:

*A: also the article that was talking about all the problems in, what I assume is the suburbs essentially, of Paris and things, it makes you feel quite sorry, or it made me feel quite sorry for those people, and it felt like they weren't really being offered anything, but actually, I don't know anything about the French benefit system, what those people are actually receiving in help from the*

*government, tax reliefs, benefits, and all the kind of things you have in this country*

'A' demonstrates that she has understood the areas being described by these culture-specific terms as "*the suburbs essentially*", which is arguably an accurate understanding. Interestingly, the English word 'suburbs' does not feature in any of the four reports, showing that she is not reproducing a word read in one of the reports but has arrived at this interpretation of the *banlieue* on the basis of the information in the report.

There are a few other instances in FOREIGNISED group A where the participants make reference to or read out parts of the reports where foreign language has been added without the presence of the French words seeming to have caused them any difficulty:

<i>L: ...but then on the back we see what he's done in the past where he's going to deep clean with an industrial cleaner all of you guys...</i>	<i>Participant puts the quote – "nettoyer au karcher" an estate (clean it out with a Karcher industrial cleaner)" – into her own words</i>
<i>A: ...paragraph 3 talks about how France is an open country but it's not somewhere you can just set up freely</i>	<i>Participant replaces the foreign language ('terrain vague') with 'somewhere', without using the translation in brackets ('wasteland')</i>
<i>A: it doesn't put into context why he said they were scum or rabble...</i>	<i>Participant uses the explanation provided for 'racaille' ('which most closely translates as "scum" or "rabble")</i>

These excerpts do not provide a great deal of insight into the impact of the foreign language phrases on reading ease. They do however show that the participants do not skip over the parts of the text where foreign language has been added, which they might have done if they did not understand or felt alienated by these parts of the text. It seems unlikely that if the participants had felt unsure about the foreign language they would have volunteered comments about these parts, or indeed been able to paraphrase them without hesitation.

Aside from the instance when 'B' mentions the word *banlieue* to say that he didn't know what it meant (which he nevertheless pronounces correctly), at no point do the participants in FOREIGNISED group A read aloud any of the French words in the reports. One of two conclusions might be drawn from this. Perhaps, as they indeed reported, the explanations and translations provided allowed the participants to understand the foreign language with ease, meaning they felt comfortable and able to put information in their own words, without reading

verbatim from the reports. Alternatively, perhaps the participants were deliberately avoiding the foreign words because they did not feel comfortable pronouncing them. Even if the latter should be true, avoiding pronouncing the foreign words does not itself indicate reading difficulty as it might be the case that the participants just feel unconfident in their pronunciation of them, not their understanding. Furthermore, as I show in 9.1.2.1, FOREIGNISED group A read verbatim from the reports considerably less than the other groups, which would explain why they also had less recourse to reproduce the foreign words and place names.

As I mention in the introduction to this section, it is not only in the FOREIGNISED groups that the participants demonstrate their response to foreign language in the reports; the original reports themselves contain foreign names (for politicians, organisations and places) as well as some unfamiliar English words which caused some of the participants difficulty. Looking at the way the participants in the ORIGINAL groups handled language which was foreign to them can help me to interpret the significance of the response of the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups to the foreign language I added to the reports. In the case of Set A, given that the FOREIGNISED group showed no indication of the foreign language (except the one use of a foreign word in a headline) impacting negatively on reading ease, it is helpful to look at how the participants in the ORIGINAL group handled the foreign names and unfamiliar words in the original reports in order to consider whether the results of the current analysis might have been different if the ORIGINAL group had been given the foreignised reports to read.

The following excerpt shows one of two instances where the participants in ORIGINAL group A jointly struggle with the pronunciation of 'thugocracy':

*C: I'd want to know what he meant by thug... [struggles to pronounce]*

*G: thugoc... [struggles to pronounce]*

*L: thugocracy*

The participants in FOREIGNISED group A demonstrated less difficulty with the word 'thugocracy'; on all but one occasion it is pronounced without any difficulty (in ORIGINAL group A there is only one instance when 'thugocracy' is pronounced without difficulty).



There is one other instance when one of the participants in the ORIGINAL group seems to struggle with, or at least want to avoid pronouncing, a foreign name; 'L' omitted the name 'Hollande' when otherwise reading verbatim from the DUMMY report. Difficulty with foreign language is only demonstrated by three out of the four participants however; the fourth participant, 'R' (who was also the one participant who pronounced 'thugocracy' without difficulty) pronounced the company name 'Mittal' confidently, observing that it is "*kind of a German name*". The difficulty the other three participants demonstrated with the word 'thugocracy' and the instance of 'Hollande' being avoided might indicate that these three participants in ORIGINAL group A are less comfortable than participants in FOREIGNISED group A with foreign words generally. This leaves open the possibility that the participants in the ORIGINAL group might have demonstrated more difficulty handling the foreign language I added to the reports.

### 8.2.2 Handling foreign language – Set B

As seen in the analysis of reports of reading ease/difficulty, the French words in the reports are mentioned by FOREIGNISED group B in a discussion of challenging terminology (see 8.1.2). However, the conclusion of the discussion is that the information in brackets means the use of such terminology is clear. When pressed for examples, the foreign language introduced into the foreignised reports was not mentioned. As I suggest when analysing this discussion, the participants might not have mentioned the foreign language simply because they could not recall it at the time. Looking at how the participants handled the foreign language added to the reports elsewhere in the focus group can throw light on this point, by showing how foreign language is handled generally by the participants:

<i>D: ...the merciless war against gangs and drug traffickers and regenerate the ethnically diverse quartiers</i>	<i>Participant confidently and deftly draws together information from two separate paragraphs in the SECURITY report. Foreign language was added at both points ('a "guerre sans merci" (merciless war)' and 'the ethnically diverse quartiers - as the high-rise estates are known'). She uses the translation provided in brackets in the first instance and the French culture-specific term in the second, which she pronounces with confidence, although incorrectly.</i>
<i>D: I think reading through, <b>the integration of millions of black and North African</b></i>	<i>Participant (same as in the example above) again mentions the culture-specific term 'quartier'. On this</i>

<p><i>immigrants</i> and so I would take it that that had an awful lot to do with it, I'm sure there are many French people as well living in these quarters, that unfortunately have nothing as well</p>	<p>occasion she pronounces it as the English word 'quarters'. The paragraph in the THUGOCRACY report she is making reference to (evidenced by the part read verbatim – in bold) does not itself contain the word 'quarters', it is used only once in the report, 7 paragraphs down. The participant appears to have retained the foreign word (although slightly inaccurately) from reading through the THUGOCRACY report or from having herself mentioned it in relation to the SECURITY report a while earlier.</p>
<p>C: and get lost, jerk D: yeah, get lost jerk, I'm sure there's many people in his position, well he should have been able to hold his tongue really, not retaliate, but then again</p>	<p>The participants make reference to a quote which is provided in French with the translation in brackets ('telling a man at an agricultural fair to "casse-toi pauvre con" (meaning something like "get lost, jerk")').</p>

The above excerpts show the participants making reference to parts of the reports to which foreign language has been introduced without seeming to experience any reading difficulty. There is one point in the data however which might indicate the introduction of foreign language having been detrimental to reading ease.

During the second half of the focus group, when we had read all four reports and were discussing them collectively, 'J' makes the following comment:

*He made it sound like he was going to cleanse the country of a lot of people that he felt didn't have a right to be in that country*

When 'J' made this comment, I recognised the 'Karcher' quote in her use of the word 'cleansed'. The quote appears only in the SECURITY report; the foreignised version is: 'his pledge to "nettoyer au karcher" an estate (clean it out with a Karcher industrial cleaner)'. However, 'J' was not able to recall the quote itself:

*Me: you said he talked about cleansing the country, where's that?  
J: it doesn't say that but that's how I read it, he didn't want these people of ethnic minorities taking over certain areas*

The fact that 'J' did not recall the quote itself, only the impression it gave her, might indicate that she had difficulty processing and therefore retaining the information on account of the foreign language added to the quote in the foreignised reports. However, there are two other possible explanations to consider.

Firstly, 'J' might have forgotten what she had read in the SECURITY report because she had read three other reports since then – 52 minutes had passed since the group had read through the SECURITY report in full and a further 15 minutes had passed by the time I had the opportunity to follow up on the comment. Secondly, the positioning of the quote on the second page of the report, in the thirteenth paragraph of sixteen, might have meant 'J' had not read it properly. It seems likely that the second page of the reports received less attention; participants might not have returned to the second pages of the reports after turning back to the first page to begin discussing them<sup>103</sup>; they might have sped up towards the end to avoid being the last to finish reading or they might simply have lost interest as they got towards the end.

A participant in the FOREIGNISED pilot group reported “*struggling*” to read the reports by paragraph four because they hadn’t caught her interest. Similarly, a participant in ORIGINAL group B said she found the reports “*dull*” and described her tendency to stop reading news reports after the first few paragraphs if they have not caught her interest. In FOREIGNISED group B itself, when I asked the participants if they would be interested in ‘news stories likes these’, ‘D’ responded:

*no, not unless it was headline news I probably wouldn't, because after a while, I'll find that I'll turn over and I'm just skimming over it, I'm not reading it thoroughly*

The participants in ORIGINAL group B do not show any difficulty with any of the foreign place names in the reports. Like in the other groups, the participants in this group take ‘deghettoization’ and ‘thugocracy’ to be made-up words, and as seen in an excerpt in 8.1.2, both words are offered as examples when ‘J’ mentions that the language is “*hard going*”. The participants do not remember the word ‘deghettoization’ correctly (they call it “ghettorize”). Later when I ask what feedback they would give the journalists, ‘L’ responds that she does not like the “*made-up words*”, ‘I’ mentions ‘deghettoization’ as an example but struggles with the pronunciation, causing ‘L’ to comment, “*see, you can't even say it*”. There are seven instances of ‘thugocracy’ being used (by three of the participants) and the word is pronounced confidently each time.

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<sup>103</sup> In retrospect, it would have been preferable to print on only one side, since it would have allowed participants to view all of the report at once.

There are only two other examples of the participants in the ORIGINAL group handling language that is foreign to them, and both relate to the same part of the SECURITY report, where in the original report the name of the organisation 'Ni putes, ni soumises' is given in French and the translation provided in brackets. These two instances are of particular interest because the strategy used in the original report – keeping the French name and adding the translation in brackets – actually fits with strategy change 1. Looking at how these two participants handled the foreign language here therefore gives an indication of how they might have handled the French words I added to the foreignised reports. Neither participant appears to have been challenged by the presence of the foreign language. In the first instance 'K' reads the paragraph verbatim from the report, including both the French name and translation in brackets. She pronounces the French name confidently, although incorrectly (as if according to Spanish pronunciation rules). Later, 'I' reads out an excerpt from the same paragraph, but omits the French name, using the translation in brackets instead, and without it interrupting her flow.

The only strong indication of foreign language causing the participants in either of the Set B groups any difficulty comes from the non-standard language ('thugocracy' and 'deghettoization') already in the reports. At no point do the participants indicate being challenged by the foreign language in the reports (whether already in the original reports or added according to the foreignised strategy) when making reference to or reading verbatim parts of the text including French words.

### **8.2.3 Handling foreign language – Pilot study**

On the whole the participants in the FOREIGNISED pilot group seemed to handle the foreign language with ease; however, it is the data from this group which contains the strongest evidence in support of the consideration that the foreign language I added to the reports might impede understanding by creating a feeling of alienation (described in 7.2.2 as a 'repel' effect):

*E: ...then it went onto the cars in northeastern banlieue [struggles to pronounce banlieue] – I can't even say where it is.*

The participant is talking about how the CRIME POLICIES report (which I replaced after the pilot study) was difficult to follow because it jumps quickly from one point to the next. By making

the comment “*I can’t even say where it is*”, she seems to imply that she also struggled with the language here.

The only change I made to foreignise the report was to replace the word ‘suburb’ with ‘*banlieue*’ along with an explanation. Despite the explanation I added and the background provided by the journalist at the end of the paragraph, the participant seems to have trouble grasping where the news event took place. It might however be the foreign place name, Clichy-sous-bois (which also appears in the original version) that causes her difficulty, rather than the introduction of the foreign term (*banlieue*) itself. Shortly afterwards the same participant mentions the place name again:

*E: ...number 12 about the Clichy [questioning tone], is that, Clichy riots? What is this?*

Although the participant clearly feels unconfident in her understanding in both of the above excerpts, it is worth noting that she is discussing the CRIME POLICIES report, which both pilot groups struggled with because of its ‘disjointed’ structure (and which was removed from the main study as a result). The fact that the report is experienced as hard to read generally might have compounded ‘E’'s sense of difficulty when encountering the foreign words and place names in the report. Furthermore, in the case of the first excerpt, the participant is making the point that the report is hard to follow, and is therefore wanting to demonstrate the difficulty she has understanding it. A short while later when the discussion turns to which parts of France were affected by the riots, another participant makes reference to the same paragraph, but this time the explanation I added for *banlieue* appears to have aided his understanding:

*C: it does say in point 3, there was stuff going on in the outskirts of Paris*

When discussing the THUGOCRACY report, the same participant replaces the phrase ‘poor banlieues’ with ‘poor areas’:

*C: point 8 says many inhabitants of the poor areas say the government has failed to address their problems*

In the sentence being referred to I had replaced ‘poor suburbs’ with ‘poor banlieues’ (without adding an explanation since the foreign term appears and is explained in an earlier paragraph). The participant reads the sentence aloud word-for-word, except he replaces ‘poor banlieues’

with 'poor areas'. He makes the replacement very naturally, without hesitating or stumbling over the words.

Whilst the participant appears to have had no difficulty understanding *banlieue* here, he has already encountered the term *banlieue* in the CRIME POLICIES report; the foreign word might not have been handled with quite such ease if it were being encountered for the first time. The fact that the participant avoids reading out *banlieue* might suggest that they felt uncomfortable using the foreign word, but since he demonstrates a clear understanding of its meaning here, it seems likely that he merely wished to avoid pronouncing it.

There is a further example in the FOREIGNISED pilot group of how participants coped with the foreign language when it was not accompanied by a translation or explanation:

*L: ...where it says it's got nothing to do with a social crisis, it's got to do with, like, thugs*

The participant is referring to the paragraph that reads: "What happened in Villiers-le-Bel has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a voyoucratie ..." I simply replaced 'thugocracy' with 'voyoucratie', leaving the French term without a translation since I had already added one where it appears in the lead paragraph. Although the participant hesitates briefly (... *like, thugs*) she is able to paraphrase the French word without difficulty.

There are a few other examples of how foreign language phrases were handled by the participants:

<i>D: ...far right candidates such as Jean Marie Le P...</i>	<i>Participant trails off instead of pronouncing the foreign name in full (Le Pen)</i>
<i>E:...bringing up these issues where he called them scum and rabble</i>	<i>Participant uses the English translation provided in brackets instead of the French "racaille"</i>
<i>C: ...they're saying the quartiers, or whatever...</i>	<i>Participant pronounces the French word in an English pronunciation style, which he indicates uncertainty about by adding 'or whatever'</i>
<i>E: ...in a number of quarters</i>	<i>Participant pronounces 'quarters' where the text says 'quartiers'</i>
<i>D: ...where it says, the estates are known, are a world away from the prosperous centres of cities like Paris...</i>	<i>Participant skips over foreign language at the start of the sentence ('The quartiers or cites', as the estates are known)</i>
<i>E: ...it says our policy of firmness is paying</i>	<i>Participant handles the foreign language phrase</i>

<i>off</i>	<i>'politique de fermeté' with ease, using the translation (policy of firmness) provided in brackets</i>
<i>D: ...on number 3, saying the policies of firmness are paying off</i>	<i>As above (different participant)</i>
<i>L: ...then in 12 &amp; 13 it says about selected immigration as well</i>	<i>Participant handles the foreign language phrase 'immigration choisie' with ease, using the translation provided in brackets</i>
<i>G: ... so he can't say get lost jerk and stuff like that, he sounds about 16</i>	<i>Participant makes reference to a quote which is provided in French with the translation in brackets ('telling a man at an agricultural fair to "casse-toi pauvre con" (meaning something like "get lost, jerk")').</i>

The above instances do not seem to show the participants experiencing reading difficulty as a result of the foreign language introduced into the foreignised reports. In fact, all of the instances of foreign language being handled by the participants in the pilot study show that the introduction of foreign terms did not present any more of a challenge than the foreign names already in the reports (Clichy-sous-Bois and Jean Marie Le Pen).

There is not much in the data from the ORIGINAL pilot group to indicate how the participants might have handled the foreign language in the foreignised reports had they had read these instead of the original reports. On one occasion 'E' reads out a section of the THUGOCRACY report containing the place name Villiers-le-Bel, which she pronounces confidently and correctly. Earlier, the same participant struggles to pronounce 'thugocracy' but this was the first time the word was mentioned and none of the participants, 'E' included, have difficulty pronouncing it after this first mention. These are the only instances of participants in this group handling the non-standard language and foreign place names in the original reports; there is therefore nothing to suggest that the participants in this group would have found the foreign language I added to the reports more challenging than indicated in the data from the FOREIGNISED pilot group.

### **Summary of observations on reading ease**

The first stage of the reading ease analysis, looking at what participants said about how difficult or easy they found the reports to read and understand, has not provided any firm evidence to suggest that the changes I made to foreignise the reports have had a negative impact on reading ease. I had anticipated the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups would find the use

of foreign language in the reports unusual or undesirable and therefore aimed to prompt participants to express such views by asking questions related to the language and reading level. There was one occasion in each FOREIGNISED group in the main study when the participants mentioned the foreign terms and on both occasions the conclusion was that the explanations and translations in brackets meant the language had not posed any challenge to their understanding. The foreign language was not mentioned in the pilot study FOREIGNISED group directly, perhaps a reflection of the fact that I added more foreign language after the pilot study (precisely because the pilot study participants had not seemed to have any difficulty with or dislike its presence).

The second stage of the analysis, looking at how participants handled foreign language in the reports, has added weight to the finding of the analysis of reports of reading ease, that the changes made to foreignise the reports did not have a negative impact on reading ease.



## Chapter 9

### Cosmopolitan openness: the impact of the changes

Cosmopolitan openness is categorised as an *a priori* theme, along with translation awareness and reading ease, because it is identified as an area of interest in RQ3 and because increasing the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness is an explicit aim of the strategy changes and research. When conducting the focus groups I was uncertain how, if at all, this theme might manifest itself in the data, and how it would be articulated in this thesis. I was interested in investigating whether a foreignising strategy, by exposing the reader to elements of the foreign source culture and language, might increase cross-cultural engagement among readers. In short, I was interested in finding out whether foreignising the way global news is translated might succeed in 'sending the reader abroad' (see 2.2.1.1).

In this chapter, I present the observations made during the focus groups and early stages of analysis that saw the theme take shape in the thesis and allowed me to build a clearer picture of how a foreignised approach might increase the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness. The structure of the chapter reflects the order in which the observations were made and the analysis completed. In the first part I describe initial observations of a higher level of reader engagement in the FOREIGNISED groups and present both quantitative and qualitative analyses of this theme (9.1). In the second part I present excerpts from the focus groups which reflect a non-cosmopolitan status quo with regard to news reading behaviour and attitudes towards foreign news (9.2). In the third and final part I discuss a tentative conclusion reached through the process of exploring the theme of cosmopolitan openness in the focus group data; that it is by *enabling* cross-cultural engagement that a foreignising approach to news translation can facilitate cosmopolitan openness (9.3).

#### 9.1 Reader engagement as indicative of the potential for cosmopolitan openness (quantitative analyses)

Although cosmopolitan openness itself is an *a priori* theme, I did not know if or how the focus group data would allow me to gauge the impact of the strategy changes. What I was certain of was that the focus group method, by allowing me to collect data without targeting the theme

specifically, would be an effective way to approach its investigation. At the time of conducting the focus groups and the early stages of analysis, the theme was conceived of loosely as 'cross-cultural engagement'; in this first section of the chapter, I describe initial observations regarding levels of reader engagement (9.1.1) and the quantitative (9.1.2) analyses I completed in order to explore these observations.

### **9.1.1 Initial observations**

After completing the pilot study I had the impression that the participants in the FOREIGNISED group had been more engaged with the news reports, reflected in a more engaged discussion; I noted in particular that I had needed to prompt/ask questions more in the ORIGINAL group in order to generate discussion, whereas in the FOREIGNISED group the participants seemed to have kept the discussion going longer, with their own, unprompted comments. I did not feel that this could be attributed to group dynamics since the participants in each group knew each other equally well<sup>104</sup> and seemed equally at ease with one another. I did however consider that group characteristics may have played a part (perhaps individuals in the FOREIGNISED group were more accustomed to participating in discussions of this kind or were more opinionated and therefore more likely to contribute in general).

When completing the first set of focus groups in the main study I noted the same difference in the fluidity and depth of discussions; I needed to prompt the participants in the ORIGINAL group considerably more than those in the FOREIGNISED group. However, when conducting set B, it was the FOREIGNISED group that needed the most prompting. My observations from conducting set B seemed therefore to put an end to a possible pattern (the FOREIGNISED groups needing less prompting), but not necessarily to the possibility that the strategy changes might have the effect of increasing reader engagement. Reflecting on the group characteristics, I felt that the ORIGINAL group in set B was more likely to maintain an engaged discussion. The main difference in the composition of the two groups is that the participants in FOREIGNISED group B were considerably older than the participants in the ORIGINAL group (and indeed the other four groups). The participants in FOREIGNISED group B were all roughly in their fifties;

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<sup>104</sup> Both groups comprised one participant whom the other participants had not met before. In the case of the FOREIGNISED group, 'D' was a very last minute replacement for another participant, and in addition to not knowing my sister (who recruited both groups) very well, had not met any of the other participants before and did not have the opportunity to socialise with them before beginning the focus group (we started very late as a result of one of the recruited participants not turning up on the day meaning we had to start as soon as 'D' arrived as the replacement).

only one participant in ORIGINAL group B was of a similar age, the rest all being in their early thirties.

I had not anticipated that the age difference would impact the data collection but I found that the participants in the FOREIGNISED group had a tendency to put down the reports after reading them and engage in a more general discussion without directly referencing the reports. On occasions I asked the participants for an example from the reports when they had made an abstract comment, in order to attempt to bring the participants back to the reports themselves. I believe this tendency not to consult the reports (when compared to the other groups in which the participants kept hold of the reports and often provided examples from/made direct reference to the reports without being asked) results mainly from the fact that the participants in the other groups, being considerably younger, may have been in education more recently<sup>105</sup>, meaning they are more likely to be accustomed to the academic practices of making a point and backing it up with an example and discussing text/cases in a group. Additionally, two of the participants in ORIGINAL group B were teachers (one an English teacher), making at least half of that group particularly well accustomed to such academic practices.

After completing the six focus groups, I maintained the impression that the participants in at least two of the FOREIGNISED groups demonstrated a higher level of engagement and that the participants in the ORIGINAL groups had discussed the reports at a relatively superficial level when compared to the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups. It was only when starting to transcribe the data that I began to see where this impression might have come from. As I transcribed I regularly recognised the wording of the Reuters reports in the comments of the participants in the ORIGINAL groups, but less so in the comments of the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups. It struck me that the participants in the ORIGINAL groups had a tendency to read out directly from the reports when making a point, which was not shared by the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups. In addition to reading verbatim from the reports less, it seemed to me that the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups also paraphrased the content of the reports more so than those in the ORIGINAL groups.

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<sup>105</sup> Age is not, of course, a reliable indicator of how recently the participants have been in education. However, it can be reasonably assumed that a group of younger participants would be likely to have more recent education experience.

Looking at the transcripts, it also appeared that the comments made by participants in the FOREIGNISED pilot group and FOREIGNISED group A (FOREIGNISED group B again not following a possible pattern) were generally longer than the comments made in the ORIGINAL groups, which may also indicate a more engaged discussion. In section 9.1.2 below, I explore this observation, as well as the observation that the participants in the ORIGINAL groups read verbatim from the Reuters report more than the FOREIGNISED groups, through quantitative analyses of the data, as possible indications of higher levels of reader engagement in the FOREIGNISED groups.

### **9.1.2 Quantitative analyses of reader engagement**

In this section, I present two quantitative elements to the analysis of the theme of cosmopolitan openness exploring the possibility that the strategy changes might have resulted in a higher level of reader engagement. I first investigate whether the observation that there was more verbatim reproduction in the transcripts from the ORIGINAL groups was accurate, and if so, how significant the difference between the ORIGINAL and FOREIGNISED groups is. I do so by counting the number of instances of the Reuters reports being reproduced verbatim as well as the number of instances of the report being paraphrased. In the second part of this section of quantitative analysis, I discuss the observation that participants in the FOREIGNISED groups tended to make longer comments than those in the ORIGINAL groups, and present the results of a simple calculation of average comment length.

#### **9.1.2.1 Verbatim reproduction/paraphrase as indicative of (non)engagement**

I make the connection between the participants' tendency to read out verbatim from the reports and their level of engagement on the basis that putting something into your own words requires a greater degree of cognitive processing than reading directly from a text. There are, of course, other factors which may have affected the amount the participants read directly from the report; in the case of FOREIGNISED group B, the fact that the participants tended not to make reference to the reports as much as the participants in the other groups means they are less likely to have reproduced the content verbatim. Additionally, participants who are particularly well accustomed to the practice of discussing texts in a group are perhaps more likely to quote the report directly in order to support their points, according to the norms of such an activity.

The difference between the amount of verbatim reproduction in the ORIGINAL and FOREIGNISED groups appeared quite striking; I set out to test the accuracy of my observation with a quantitative analysis. I coded the transcripts in NVivo for 'verbatim reproduction' and 'paraphrase'. The results of the quantitative analysis are presented in Table 18 below.

Set	Verbatim reproduction		Paraphrase	
	FOREIGNISED	ORIGINAL	FOREIGNISED	ORIGINAL
<b>A</b>	23	37	11	8
<b>B</b>	28	50	1	2
<b>Pilot</b>	28	63	4	3
<b>Total</b>	79	150	16	13

**Table 18 – Instances of report content being reproduced verbatim/paraphrased**

The analysis shows that the participants in the ORIGINAL groups had indeed reproduced the content of the reports verbatim considerably more than those in the FOREIGNISED groups. In the case of the pilot study, where the difference had appeared most striking, there are more than double the number of instances of a participant reading verbatim from the report (28 compared to 63). The difference is almost as great in Set B, with 50 instances of verbatim reproduction in the ORIGINAL group and only 28 in the FOREIGNISED group. The difference in Set A, while less striking, is noteworthy still (37 in the ORIGINAL group compared to 23 in the FOREIGNISED).

It was in Set A that I noted a high incidence of paraphrase; the results of the quantitative analysis in Table 18 above show 11 instances of paraphrase in FOREIGNISED group A compared to 8 in ORIGINAL group A. The data from set A comprises the majority of the instances of the use of paraphrase; there are very few in set B and the pilot study and the difference of one in these comparisons (1 compared to 2 and 4 compared to 3) is negligible. There are far fewer instances of paraphrase overall when compared to verbatim reproduction; in fact the number of instances of verbatim reproduction across the six groups is almost exactly ten times higher than the number of instances of paraphrase (229 compared to 29).

The low number of instances in each individual group means it is less likely that comparing across the groups will reveal distinct patterns. While a comparative analysis of the number of instances does not show a significant difference between the FOREIGNISED and ORIGINAL groups on its own, the quantitative analysis of the instances of paraphrase is revealing in

showing that in those groups which frequently made direct reference to the reports rather than engaging in a wider discussion (reflected in a high incidence of verbatim reproduction), the participants very rarely paraphrased the content of the reports. In the three ORIGINAL groups together, there are 150 instances of verbatim reproduction compared to 13 instances of paraphrase. In the FOREIGNISED groups the ratio is much lower, 80 instances of verbatim reproduction across the three groups and 16 instances of paraphrase.

The fact that reading verbatim from the foreignised reports would, in places, involve reading out a French word, is likely to have contributed to the lower incidence of verbatim reproduction in the FOREIGNISED groups; however, I do not believe this to be a particularly significant factor in explaining the difference between the ORIGINAL and FOREIGNISED groups. As seen in the analysis presented in 8.2, on the whole, the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups do not seem to have been troubled by the presence of the foreign language (except perhaps its pronunciation). When coding for verbatim reproduction I included instances where participants in the FOREIGNISED groups read the translation provided in place of the original French word, meaning that in many cases instances of verbatim reproduction in the FOREIGNISED groups involve the participants reading around French words and, in some cases, reading out French words. In FOREIGNISED group B, just over a third of the instances (9 out of 28) involve verbatim reproduction of foreignised parts.

The results of the quantitative analysis support the observation that the participants in the ORIGINAL groups read verbatim from the reports much more than the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups (almost twice as often when comparing the totals for the FOREIGNISED and ORIGINAL groups). In section 9.1.2.2 below I present the results of a further quantitative investigation, looking at comment length as a possible indication of reader engagement.

#### **9.1.2.2 Comment length as indicative of engagement**

I do not wish to dedicate much space to investigating whether participants in the FOREIGNISED groups did indeed make longer comments; the results of such an analysis cannot, on their own, tell me a great deal about the level of engagement in the groups. However, if the analysis should confirm that the participants in the FOREIGNISED pilot group and FOREIGNISED group A made substantially longer comments (as has been my impression

from transcribing the data), this may, in complement to the analysis presented in 9.1.2.1 above, further reflect a higher level of engagement in these groups.

I was able to calculate the average comment length in a very straightforward and quick, way. When transcribing I used the format 'participant initial + colon' at the start of each comment, this meant I was able to calculate the number of comments (i.e. the number of times the discussion passes from one participant to the next) in the transcripts by using the 'find' function in Word to count the number of colons. I then divided the total word count of the transcript by the number of comments to calculate the average comment length. Table 19 below shows the average comment length for each group as well as the average for the FOREIGNISED groups and the ORIGINAL groups collectively:

Set	Average comment length (words)	
	FOREIGNISED	ORIGINAL
A	33	26
B	18	22
Pilot	35	26
Collective average	28.7	24.7

Table 19 - Average comment length

The results presented above support the observation that the comments made by participants in the FOREIGNISED pilot group and FOREIGNISED group A were, on average, considerably longer than the comments of the participants in any of the other groups. If comment length can be interpreted as an indication of reader engagement, the results therefore suggest a higher level of engagement in both of these FOREIGNISED groups.

The calculations for Set B also reflect the observation mentioned in 9.1.1 that within this set, the discussion in the FOREIGNISED group was not as engaged as the discussion in the ORIGINAL group, which I attribute to the participants in FOREIGNISED group B being in an older age group. At only 18 words, FOREIGNISED group B showed the lowest average comment length of all the groups (the next lowest was in ORIGINAL group B, at 22 words). In spite of the low average comment length in FOREIGNISED group B, the collective average for the FOREIGNISED groups was still higher than that of the ORIGINAL groups (28.7 words compared to 24.7), reflecting the fact that the average comment lengths in the FOREIGNISED pilot group and FOREIGNISED group A were much higher than in the other groups.

### **Reflections on the quantitative analyses**

In the above discussion the results of two quantitative analyses of reader engagement are presented. The observation that the participants in the ORIGINAL groups read verbatim from the reports more than the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups is supported in the quantitative analysis presented in 9.1.2.1. Since the participants in the FOREIGNISED groups read verbatim from the reports less, this means they paraphrased the reports or shared their own thoughts more, which is interpreted as indicating a higher level of engagement with the content of the news reports. The observation that comments made by the participants in two of the FOREIGNISED groups were considerably longer than those made in the other groups (supported by the quantitative analysis presented in 9.1.2.2) is interpreted as a further indication of the higher level of engagement in these FOREIGNISED groups on the basis that a longer average comment length suggests the participants had more to say and therefore were more engaged in the discussion/by the report. The comparison of comment length in Set B, which conversely shows longer average comment in the ORIGINAL group, is not felt to invalidate the possibility that the foreignised reports prompted a more engaged discussion in the FOREIGNISED groups on the basis of differences in group characteristics explained above.

The connections I have made between reader engagement and verbatim reproduction/comment length are, of course, highly subjective; I include the observations and their investigation in this chapter because they were striking to me. It is for the same reason that I dedicate section 9.2 below to the qualitative analysis of a few excerpts from FOREIGNISED group A; these excerpts convinced me that the strategy changes might have the impact of increasing the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness, and that it might be possible to observe this impact in data collected via the focus group method used.

### **9.2 Indications of increased potential for cosmopolitan openness (qualitative analyses)**

Cosmopolitanism is an abstract concept which is defined and applied in different ways in empirical investigations of cosmopolitan behaviours and attitudes. It is not my intention to make a contribution to the literature on cosmopolitanism; I do not therefore attempt to go further in the



qualitative analysis in this section than to present points in the data where it appears the foreignised strategy has succeeded in increasing readers' contact and engagement with the foreign source culture, and thus as having increased to potential for cosmopolitan openness. I begin by exploring an inductive theme, 'non-cosmopolitanism', through which I identify a lack of interest in news from France across the groups generally (9.2.1). In the second part I look at instances in the data where the foreignised strategy appears to have succeeded in the aim of increasing the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness (9.2.2).

### **9.2.1 Indications of a non-cosmopolitan status quo**

Discussing the potential for the media to promote a cosmopolitan outlook, Robertson relates an interview with a television audience member who describes the "obligations" she feels to keep informed about world events and the guilt of not being as "moved" by stories involving high death tolls as by stories told from the perspective of one individual, which make it "easier to put yourself in the tragedy" (Robertson, 2012 p.185). In a study by Szerszynski and Urry focus group participants indicate being less affected by events the more distant and abstract they are (2002 pp.474-475). These are sentiments echoed by the participants in the focus groups conducted as part of the current research project.

A sentiment expressed by participants across the groups, that they would not be interested in news from abroad because it doesn't directly affect them, is captured in the following comment from 'V' in the ORIGINAL pilot group:

*it's human nature isn't it to kind of care about what is close to you or what you can relate as close to you, and because some things are so horrific, the further they are removed, the easier it is on you, and when it comes to your doorstep you really can relate to that.*

The comment from 'V' comes after 'C' explains that she feels she is more interested in the news about the Paris riots because of the riots that happened in London in 2011:

*I do feel a bit like I'm, it might be a really awful thing to say, I feel like I am slightly more engaged with this especially after the London riots, it's interesting that it happened here very near to where I was living and then you read this and you think I can kind of relate, I maybe have a stronger feeling towards this article because it happened here and I can relate to things that have happened, I know it might sound awful, like there and here, but I feel like I am maybe slightly more engaged with this because I've had some kind of experience with it as well*

Comments about not being interested in foreign news events because *“it’s not something that directly affects me”* (ORIGINAL group B), were often expressed apologetically – *“it doesn’t really carry an emotion because, it’s not our country so... it’s awful to say”* (FOREIGNISED pilot). A feeling of detachment resulting from the amount of reporting of violence is expressed in ORIGINAL group A:

*L: but there’s always violence on the news so*

*C: you do get to that point don’t you, you think oh, there’s a lot of violence*

*R: it could be anywhere, it could be Athens (ORIGINAL group A)*

The participants also talk about not having time to follow news from abroad – *‘I don’t have the time or interest really to sit and read about this sort of thing’* (ORIGINAL group B) and, as reflected in a comment in the FOREIGNISED pilot group, feeling detached from news events because it’s *“too far from home”*:

*L: for me that’s like too serious, and too like far... now I’ve read them I can relate to them, but if I just saw the headline I’d think that’s too far away from home, it’s too serious, but if I see something like someone calling someone a dummy I think that might be quite funny, I’ll read that.*

The discussion continues and ‘C’ raises the seriousness and scale of the news event as a factor in determining his interest in reading about:

*C: yeah, they’re all related to France, I don’t have an interest in France, or the policies of France*

*E: [silly voice] I don’t give a shit really [laughter]*

*C: in terms of what they’re about, if it was like tsunami kills a thousand people in France I’d be like oh, shit, I’ll read that but these are just to do with their policies and I don’t have an interest in government in France, really. I’d only read the ones I kind of related to, if I was interested in something, or are funny like D, but if it was English topics I’d be more inclined to click on them, whereas these are, well I wouldn’t even look in the French section of the articles anyway*

If the participants did say they thought a news story was of interest or relevant to a UK audience it was very often explained on the basis that they visit France or know people who do – *“...especially with France not being that far away, a lot of people here go to France quite a lot, they probably would quite like to know what’s going on”* (ORIGINAL pilot) or because they’d be interested to know *“how it relates to the issues we’ve got in Britain”* (FOREIGNISED group A).

Comments about the news stories not being of interest because they do not directly affect the participant or the UK can be found in the data from each of the groups. I mention this finding in order to illustrate a lack of engagement with the foreign source context in general; even though the news is from France, a country which is geographically and culturally close to the UK, the participants across the groups comment that the stories are not of interest to them. I asked all groups if they felt the news stories were relevant for a British audience; comments from ORIGINAL group A reflect the variety of reasons the participants across the groups felt the news stories might be relevant:

*G: I think riots are quite a big deal, I think you'd expect to see*

*L: yeah, the riots*

*G: because France is quite a close country to us*

*R: lots of people do go on holiday there as well*

*L: and also they're in a similar financial situation to us so I think a lot of people think well if that's happening there it's possible it's likely to happen here as well, if they're having social unrest because of job losses there which we have, so...*

The participants in all groups show a tendency to 'bring the news back home' (see 2.2.2) when discussing the reports, whether by discussing the London riots in relation to the Paris riots, inflammatory comments made by UK or US politicians in relation to comments made by Sarkozy, or immigration problems in the UK in relation to the report about Sarkozy's immigration policy. I have the impression that there was a greater tendency for participants in the ORIGINAL groups to 'bring the news back home', to talk about issues related to the UK rather than the French news event itself. However, I have not attempted to compare the ORIGINAL and FOREIGNISED groups in this respect for want of a systematic way of doing so. Instead, in the section that follows, I look at instances where participants in FOREIGNISED group A appear to have been 'sent abroad' as a result of the strategy changes and show a strong degree of engagement with the foreign cultural context.

### **9.2.2 Indications of cosmopolitan openness**

The rationale behind strategy change 1, involving the retention of foreign language in the case of culture-specific terms (see Chapter 6) is to expose rather than obscure the foreign cultural-specificity. I argue in 3.3.3 that by translating *banlieue* as suburb, and thus reporting to a UK audience that the riots in Paris occurred in the 'suburbs' of the city, the reader's understanding is limited to their understanding of the cultural reality attached to the English word, which is

distinct from the reality of France's *banlieues*. The translation of *banlieue* as suburb, found to be common in reporting by the 'Big three' news agencies (see 5.3.1 and 6.2.2) is typical of an acculturating strategy which removes the foreign from foreign news reporting in order not to jeopardise goals of clear and concise communication.

The retention of the term *banlieue* in the foreignised reports therefore explicitly intended to increase readers' awareness of the foreign cultural specificity. The impact of the foreignised strategy in this respect can be most clearly seen at points in the data where participants discuss the cultural concepts that have either been acculturated to a target-culture term (in the ORIGINAL groups) or retained with an explanation (FOREIGNISED groups). The impact of acculturating the term *banlieue* to 'suburbs' is illustrated in the following excerpts from the ORIGINAL pilot group:

*C: It feels like it's people from the 'poor suburbs' because in 8 it says the government has failed to address their problems, and then quotes these two people, so to me it feels like they're part of these poor suburbs [air quotes] that aren't getting any backing from the government*

The phrase 'poor suburbs', as indicated by 'C's use of air quotes, is reproduced directly from the THUGOCRACY report; she reproduces the phrase once more – *'they [the journalist] make you think that these people, the poor suburbs want to change'* and on another occasion comments that the journalist is *'trying to show that it's these suburban areas that are like, having trouble...'*. These instances are examples of the tendency for verbatim reproduction in the ORIGINAL groups seen in 9.1.2.1. In ORIGINAL group B 'the poor suburbs' and 'an impoverished suburb' are also reproduced when entire sentences are reproduced verbatim – *'the poor suburbs are a world away from the prosperous centres of cities like Paris, blighted by high crime and unemployment, poor transport links and run-down housing'* and *'he made his first visit to an impoverished suburb since he was elected'*.

In ORIGINAL group A the phrase 'the poor suburbs' is mentioned in the following instance of verbatim reproduction – *'many inhabitants of the poor suburbs say the government have failed to address their problems'*. The only other mention of the suburbs is when 'L' explains that she wouldn't read on if she saw the SECURITY headline, because *'I'm not bothered on suburb security in France'* (the phrase 'suburb security' being reproduced directly from the headline). In

each of these instances the participants in the ORIGINAL groups appear not to engage with the cultural reality behind the acculturated term and as a result there appears to be a general lack of engagement with or awareness of where the news events are actually taking place.

By contrast, participants in the FOREIGNISED groups make comments indicating engagement with the foreign cultural context. In the FOREIGNISED pilot group 'E' comments:

*The outskirts of the city, that's where true France is, it's not in these posh cities where the tourists go to, it's where the people are, on the outskirts, if you think about it*

In FOREIGNISED group B, 'D' comments:

*I think reading through, 'the integration of millions of black and North African immigrants', and so I would take it that that had an awful lot to do with it, I'm sure there are many French people as well living in these quarters, that unfortunately have nothing as well*

There are multiple indications of participants in FOREIGNISED group A engaging with the cultural specificity of the *banlieue*. In the discussion that starts once the participants have read the THUGOCRACY report 'J' comments:

*J: yeah, yeah, so his opinion is that it's all just a few thugs and it's nothing to do with how his country, trying to improve the lives of its less well-off people, and he's not really giving any evidence for why you happen to get thugs in these areas and not in the posh parts of Paris, I don't quite see his reasoning for his approach, but the piece is very Sarkozy-focused but it's nice to see it has had a little interview with the residents from the areas*

A high level of engagement with the foreign cultural context is indicated in FOREIGNISED group A generally, in particular in comments from 'J' and 'A'. Both participants show a strong awareness of their lack of understanding of the foreign context:

*A: I think it's given me an idea of perhaps what's going on when I didn't really know anything that was going on in France, but then I feel I probably don't have a very balanced view of what's going on and I probably don't truly understand it from just reading this, it has given me more insight but I don't think I truly understand the difficulties that are being experienced in the suburban areas of Paris, I don't think you can fully comprehend, because it's such a difficult situation, I don't think this really allows you to fully comprehend that*

*J: that's true, there are bits that were just touched on in those that would mean a lot more to people who knew, so like the pride in being French is presumably quite a big thing, that washes over me a little bit, but I guess that maybe is a really major part of French identity and how that interplays with*

*immigrants coming in from another identity, but maybe knowing more about that context, yeah, I don't feel I know enough about that to be able to understand really what's going on in the context of what the culture is*

*Me: is there anything you're talking about in particular when you say that?*

*J: I suppose it's that first article we read and a few comments Sarkozy had made about an embarrassment to the republic and not tolerating people who won't stick up for French ways of doing things and that to me seems an odd thing to say because in my culture that's not really an issue so much, or at least not one you would admit to as a leader of a country, but I wonder if that is a much bigger thing in France, and if you were from somewhere where you have a strong national identity and that's a much bigger part of life then I imagine that people coming in with a different cultural identity, that would be a much harder thing to mix up with to have in your society, than in a country that's already very diverse and doesn't have one identity but has lots of identities, and I don't know whether that's Sarkozy's own odd view about France or whether it is a more pervasive feeling and attitude in France, I don't come away with a feeling of what French generally – not that you can generalise – but what overall French people's attitude are like or culture is like and how people view overseas immigrants*

The discussion continues along these lines and 'J' goes on to comment:

*I came away wanting to know more about what life is like, like you say for the people in those suburbs and what the difficulties are*

Later, when I ask the group directly about the reading ease, 'J' answers:

*J: yeah I think as someone who doesn't know anything about French politics I didn't feel like there were bits of it that didn't make sense*

*Me: okay, you didn't have to read anything twice*

*J: no, I think the very first one, there was that technical term and I thought I don't know what that is but then it explained it, the name for the suburban ghettos, I can't remember what it was*

Later, during a rich discussion that develops when I ask the group the questions in the discussion guide about whether or not they would be likely to read on from the headlines the group talk about how they feel they learnt most from the SECURITY report – *'I felt like I learnt more new things about France and about the difficulties there are, and also about Sarkozy's politics, from reading that' ('J')*. The discussion continues:

*A: I think you're right though about A in the sense that when you talk about Paris, or France rather, generally you think of the good parts don't you, you think of Paris being this lovely place that you go to visit and you think of wine and cheese and all those kind of things and actually A, paints a very different picture of France, actually there's a lot of problems that you don't really know and hear about as often, so maybe that's true, you have to...*

*J: that's the only article that taught me about France, whereas the others taught me about Sarkozy's mind and his plans, this one actually did paint a bit of a picture of society, whereas all of the others were opinions, planning to clamp down on immigration or not, but this actually taught me that there are these places full of people who can't get jobs and have poor transport links, ghettoized from the rest of the city, I didn't know how that worked in Paris, I'd assumed it might have been spread around through the city, yeah, I think that one taught me something new*

*A: it's quite interesting as well, because in this country, I don't know, maybe I'm a bit more naïve, I haven't lived very many places other than sort of down in Devon and Hampshire [laughs] but it seems in France that the real problems are suburban areas outside of the city whereas in England a lot of problems are inner city, I don't know, that's something new that I've learnt from reading that that I didn't necessarily know before*

'A' appears to have clearly understood the cultural reality of the *banlieue* from the foreignised SECURITY report; she draws an accurate parallel with the cultural reality of the inner city in England and specifies that she has gained this understanding from reading the report. The group continues to discuss the distinction between the 'run down' parts of Paris and the 'troubled areas you get' in large cities in the UK. Soon after 'A' adds:

*A: I think it also makes it sound like these areas are more isolated than perhaps some areas in England because Brixton, although it might be a more ethnically diverse area and that might be similar in the sense that there might be migrant workers living in poverty, it's not that they're living in poverty because they're in areas that don't have good transport links and are isolated from the city, they're still in the city centre, and this sounds slightly different, it sounds like people are being moved or live in areas that are then made to be more isolated by the fact that...*

Of course, it is possible that 'A' would have gained this understanding from reading the original version of the SECURITY report also; the engagement with and interest in the foreign source culture expressed by 'J' and 'A' in FOREIGNISED group A might be a reflection of the participant's personal characteristics. However, there is nothing in the data to suggest that this might be the case. On the contrary, the participants indicate the same lack of interest in reading news from France, and for the same reasons, as seen in comments across the groups (see 9.2.1):

*A: I think really selfishly, I think if I read any of these I'd probably be a bit like, hmmm, that's interesting, but I don't think I'd want to, although I can sit here now and say well actually if you're really looking into it I don't feel like I've learnt that much, but if I were reading over coffee or over lunch, I don't think I'd then delve in to finding more information because I'd be like well, it's about France, it's interesting but I don't need to know any more than what I know there, which is quite a narrow-minded [laughing]*

*L: it's not, it's not really narrow-minded, if the journalists want us to know stuff they've got to punch it*

*to us because that's the market, we're all busy, we don't have time to Google the way France works*  
*A: I should Google more medical stuff and I don't do that so I definitely don't have time to do this*  
*[laughing]*  
*J: I suppose I'm more likely to read something if I think it will impact my world or if it is somewhere*  
*I'm fond of or somewhere where I've been or I've lived*

Furthermore, as shown above, there are comments in FOREIGNISED group B and the FOREIGNISED pilot group indicating an engagement with the cultural specificity of the *banlieue* which is not seen in the ORIGINAL groups.

While it is not possible to conclude on the basis of the data collected that the foreignised strategy has succeeded in increasing the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness, the comments from 'J' and 'A' in FOREIGNISED group A in particular, as well as comments related to suburb/*banlieue* across the groups do seem to point to the possibility that exposing rather than obscuring the foreign in foreign news reporting encourages cross-cultural engagement and understanding. The analysis of the theme of cosmopolitan openness presented in this chapter is exploratory; as I describe in 3.2.3, it was only after beginning to read through the data that I made the connection between my belief that a foreignised news translation strategy has the potential to increase cross-cultural engagement and the concept of cosmopolitan openness.

While I do not draw any conclusions with regard to the success of the foreignised strategy in achieving this aim, as I describe in 9.3, applying the concept of cosmopolitanism to the data collected in this study has allowed me to build a clearer picture of exactly how it is that a foreignised approach to news translation might increase the potential for cross-cultural engagement.

### **9.3 Foreignising news translation as *enabling* cosmopolitan openness**

In the previous section I present excerpts, from FOREIGNISED group A in particular, which point to the possibility that the foreignised strategy might increase the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness. The focus group method used in this project is exploratory on the basis that the method is uncommon in translation studies and relatively uncommon as a method for examining reader response to texts, whether translated or not (see



4.1). The analysis is particularly exploratory when it comes to examining the data for indications of the impact of the translation strategies on cosmopolitan openness since cosmopolitanism itself is not an established or well-known concept within translation studies. In 3.2.3 I describe how it was the comment of one participant in particular, together with Bielsa's arguments about the cosmopolitan potential of foreignising translation strategies (Bielsa, 2010; 2014; in press), that helped me to make the connection between the aims of the foreignised strategy and cosmopolitanism.

As the discussion in FOREIGNISED group A was coming to a close, in order to generate any final contributions, I asked the participants '*what would you say is the most interesting thing you've taken away from the reports?*'. 'A' answered:

*I think the fact that there are these real problems with the outskirts of the cities and the fact that some of that is to do with them not being well integrated into the city is quite interesting to me and something I hadn't really appreciated before*

As seen in 9.2.2, 'A' and 'J' make several comments in the same vein, indicating awareness of the foreign cultural specificity of the *banlieue* and their engagement with the foreign context; it was however the above comment that first caught my attention, and in particular the words '*something I hadn't really appreciated before*'. This comment strongly suggests that 'A' has gained a deeper understanding of the cultural reality of France's *banlieues*. If this can be attributed to strategy change 1 (see 6.1), it indicates that the foreignised strategy, by exposing the reader to the foreign cultural specificity rather than acculturating the news information using terms available in the target culture and language, is successful in facilitating cross-cultural engagement and understanding.

Of course, it is not possible to know whether the comments indicating engagement with the foreign cultural context in FOREIGNISED group A are the result of the foreignised strategy or whether the participants would have responded in the same way to the original reports; further focus groups would be needed to see if the same impact could be identified in other groups. The comments from 'A' and 'J' in FOREIGNISED group A have however allowed me to develop somewhat abstract ideas relating to the cosmopolitan potential of a foreignised approach to news translation by highlighting the relevance of a particular element of the literature on

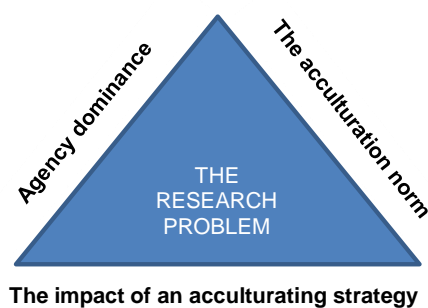
cosmopolitanism – the conception of cosmopolitanism as an ability to engage with the cultural other.

In 2.3.3 I make reference to Hannerz's notion of cosmopolitan 'competence' (1996 p.203); Hannerz stresses that a cosmopolitan outlook requires both a willingness and an ability to engage with the cultural other. Borrowing Hannerz's notion of 'cultural competence', Robertson asks how journalists can help television news audiences to 'develop' this competence (2010 p.6). An acculturating strategy is considered problematic to cross-cultural engagement and understanding on the basis that it denies the reader access to the foreign source culture and language. The comment made by 'A' about how she has learnt something about the *banlieues* of France that she '*hadn't really appreciated before*' throws light on how it is that a foreignised strategy might increase the potential for news translation to increase cosmopolitan openness. By equipping the reader with the cultural and linguistic information that an acculturated strategy otherwise removes, the foreignised strategy allows the reader the opportunity to engage with the foreign culture. It is only by *enabling* this engagement with the cultural other that translation in global news can facilitate cosmopolitan openness.

## Conclusions

The research project presented in this thesis set out to explore the possibility that a foreignised approach to news translation could represent a viable alternative to current practice in the case of the 'Big three' news agencies, Reuters, Associated Press and Agence France-Presse. The focus on the global agencies is justified in Chapter 1, and in particular in the examples of the Reuters reports from the case study corpus reproduced in the mainstream British press. I am conscious that by singling out Reuters as a case study it may appear that the research project identifies and aims to address a problem with the way Reuters translates foreign news; particularly since the foreignised strategy presented in Chapter 6 updates and revises the guidance on translation Reuters sets out for its journalists. This is not the case. The object of research is the translation of foreign news; the global agencies are the focus of the research simply because they do most of the translating. As I explain in 3.3, Reuters is used as a case study on the basis of a series of considerations, none of which relate to the agency's translation practices.

The research problem being addressed is the sum of a few different parts, which together motivate the focus on the translation strategies of the global news agencies. In order to clarify this point, in the diagram below I present the research problem in the style of a 'fire triangle', with the elements on each side of the triangle coming together to represent a problem worthy of investigation<sup>106</sup>:



On the left hand-side of the triangle is the dominance of the 'Big three' global news agencies; this element motivates the investigation because the vast quantities of foreign news information

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<sup>106</sup> In a classic fire triangle, the three sides of the triangle show the three elements needed for a fire to combust and be maintained – fuel, heat and oxygen.

the agencies produce daily, parts of which are necessarily translated, is widely reproduced by news organisations across the globe. On the right hand-side of the triangle is the norm for news information to be translated using an acculturating strategy. These first two elements do not produce a research problem on their own, but do when combined with the element at the bottom of the triangle – the impact of the acculturating strategy.

By setting out to develop a foreignised approach to the translation of news I open myself up to questions from within my field regarding the value of the research because foreignisation, as Venuti described it, is considered impractical in the case of news translation. I have attempted to clarify that the foreignised strategy developed here is only foreignising to a degree (see 3.2.1); that it does not share the overarching ethical aims of Venuti's foreignising strategy but aims to resolve the problems inherent in using a wholly acculturating strategy to translate the news. Namely, that an acculturating strategy leaves the reader unaware of the translation process (and hence the secondary level of mediation) involved in producing the news information and reduces the potential for cross-cultural engagement. The foreignised strategy seeks to resolve these problems by increasing the visibility of the translation process and allowing the reader to come into contact with the foreign source culture and language, but not in ways that result in non-fluency or a degree of foreignness that may otherwise have a negative impact on reading ease.

The literature on news translation, reviewed in Chapter 2, paints a complex picture of the role of translation in news production. By looking specifically at the translation practices of the global agencies, this thesis has been able to clarify when and where translation is necessarily involved in foreign news production – when the news reporting includes a foreign language quotation or culture-specific term. As described in Chapter 3, a Reuters case study involving news from France about Nicolas Sarkozy's social politics and readers in the UK is used to answer three research questions; in what ways and to what degree are the translation strategies of the global news agencies acculturating, how could their current strategies be foreignised, and what would be the impact of doing so? The three research questions are answered in three distinct stages, each making a distinct contribution to the findings of the research.

RQ1 is answered through textual analysis of the Reuters corpus and *Handbook* using Pedersen's 'typology of ECR transfer strategies' (Pedersen, 2005). Pedersen's typology is identified as a helpful tool for looking at the translation strategies used in agency news reporting. The experience of analysing the Reuters corpus using Pedersen's typology points to the potential for it to be adapted to fit news translation more generally. This potential could be explored through the application of the model to other news translation cases. The analysis of the Reuters corpus (Chapter 5) finds that, in the case of the global agencies, the acculturation described in the literature occurs when journalists render foreign language quotations and culture-specific terms, since the agency journalist's translation task is essentially limited to these two elements.

The acculturation of foreign language quotations and culture-specific terms thus becomes the focus of the foreignised strategy developed in the second stage of the research. In this second stage, RQ2 is answered through analysis of the translation strategies used in reporting by the 'Big three' agencies and in the mainstream British press. Particular attention is paid to the use of foreign language, which is found to be limited in reporting by the global agencies but reasonably prevalent in reporting in the British 'quality' press. This finding encourages the retention of foreign language in the foreignised strategy presented in Chapter 6, a set of five strategy changes that updates and revises the advice relating to the translation of culture-specific terms and quotation in the Reuters *Handbook*.

In the third stage of the research, I investigated whether the foreignised strategy had succeeded in achieving the aims set out in Chapter 3. I used a comparative, task-based focus group methodology with a small sample of 24 participants. The participants were recruited as six groups of four participants (inclusive of a pilot study), with two groups in each set. One group in each set was given the original version of the four Reuters reports in the corpus and the other group was given versions of the reports that I had foreignised in line with the strategy changes. The lack of reader-response research within translation and journalism studies (written journalism in particular) means that through the inclusion of this stage the research project makes an important methodological contribution to both fields. Chapter 4 is dedicated to the description of the focus group method and why it was chosen. The focus group data is analysed in line with three areas of interest tied to the aims of the research project; the impact of the

foreignised strategy on translation awareness (Chapter 7), reading ease (Chapter 8) and the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness (Chapter 9).

The analysis finds some indication of the foreignised strategy having increased awareness of the translation process, or at least, the foreign context of quotations. Very few references were made to translation generally across the six groups; the strategy changes appear therefore to have only had a minor impact on the participants' awareness of translation. Closer examination of the data however reveals instances suggesting participants' unarticulated awareness of the translation process. These instances, and the lack of references to translation generally (see 7.1), could be symptomatic of lay knowledge of translation in the UK generally; possibly the participants are aware of the involvement of translation in the news reporting but conceive of translation as straightforward linguistic transfer, and therefore not a factor worth discussing.

The focus group method allowed spontaneous indications of translation awareness to be examined, which was important to the aim of gauging the impact of the foreignised strategy. In light of the finding that the presence of foreign language and bracketed translations in news reporting does not prompt readers to discuss the translation involved in its production, a future research project in which participants are asked directly about their awareness of translation in news reporting could further illuminate lay understandings of the role of translation in news production. The potential findings of such a study could complement the findings of the current project by examining what the impact of increasing awareness of translation among news readerships might be. The foreignised strategy aims to signal the translation process involved in reporting foreign language quotations in order to signal to the reader that the quotations are a translated, and therefore doubly mediated, version of what was said. If readers are aware of the translation process but not aware of the level of interpretation it involves, strategies which signal the non-equivalence between an utterance and its translation (as called for in strategy change 2e) become more important.

There are no clear indications of the foreignised strategy having had a negative impact on reading ease; however, one excerpt from the data shows the use of foreign culture-specific terms in headlines to be unviable on the basis that readers might not understand the headline and therefore not be interested in reading the report. The conclusion of the reading ease

analysis is therefore that the foreignised strategy could represent a viable alternative to current strategy after modifying strategy change 1 to exclude the use of foreign culture-specific terms in headlines. This modification would involve removing the word 'headline' from strategy change 1c and the addition of strategy change 1d, as shown below:

Where the foreign cultural concept appears in the ~~headline~~/lead and there is not space to provide explanatory text, use the foreign term rather than generalising with a translation, and add the explanation at the next opportunity [1c]. The use of foreign culture-specific terms in headlines has the potential to jeopardise readers' understanding and therefore interest in the news story. Translate into English using a generally recognised equivalent and provide the foreign term at the next opportunity in order to communicate the cultural-specificity [1d].

The final chapter of analysis looks at the impact of the foreignised strategy on the potential for news translation to facilitate cosmopolitan openness. This element of the reader-response analysis is particularly exploratory since cosmopolitanism is not an established concept in translation studies. The value of adopting the sociological concept is found in the analysis, where participants indicate awareness of the cultural specificity of the source news context. In light of the importance the literature on cosmopolitanism attributes to individuals having the *ability* to make cosmopolitan connections, the cosmopolitan potential of a foreignised strategy becomes clear. By exposing the reader to the foreignness of the source culture (a foreignness which an acculturating approach seeks to obscure), the foreignised strategy *enables* rather than prevents the reader's engagement with the foreign culture, thus allowing cosmopolitan connections to develop through the experience of reading news from abroad.

The conclusions of the reader-response analyses are inevitably tentative. It was not my intention to draw firm conclusions regarding the success and viability of the foreignised strategy on the basis of the focus group data. Rather, the reader-response stage of the research project was included as a way of taking the foreignised strategy out into the real world to get an idea of what the impact of the strategy changes might be in practice – could it succeed in increasing awareness of translation?; might readers find foreignised news reports harder to read?; would readers respond negatively to the (unusual) presence of the foreign elements? I had expected the focus group data to show starker responses to the foreignised strategy, particularly in the form of negative comments about the presence of the foreign language and direct references to translation from the groups reading the foreignised reports. The focus group data turned out to

be much more nuanced than this, and as such led me to conduct deeper and richer analyses than I had expected, thus taking me out of my comfort zone as a translation studies researcher but also presenting a further opportunity to make a contribution to my field.

A general conclusion drawn on the basis of the investigation conducted across the three stages is that the foreignised strategy, incorporating the modification described above, *could* represent a viable alternative to Reuters' current translation strategy. The strategy changes are developed with this aim in mind; as such, they do not radically alter the translation strategy set out in the Reuters *Handbook* and only foreignise the reporting to a degree that is considered appropriate to the aims of clear communication. The focus group data did not provide any clear indications of the strategy changes having had a negative impact on reading ease (with the one exception addressed by the above modification) and did not generate any negative feedback from the participants, despite the discussion guide aiming to uncover such feedback. Needless to say, this conclusion cannot be generalised since I have investigated a particular case, Reuters reporting on news from France.

Further research examining the impact of the foreignised strategy is needed in order to assess its viability and value. This could involve the translation into English from languages and cultures more distant to English and/or investigation of news reports in a different target language, for instance news from English speaking countries reported in Arabic. In order to generalise beyond the case of Reuters in particular, further research would also be needed with Associated Press or Agence France-Presse as case studies. In order to generalise beyond the case of the global news agencies, further research would be needed to explore the potential for foreignising the translation strategies of other news organisations. It was not the aim of the research to develop a foreignised strategy for Reuters to adopt, but to explore the possibility of foreignising news translation generally. It is however felt that gaining feedback on the foreignised strategy from Reuters staff would be a worthwhile endeavour; asking journalists to consider the potential of, or indeed to trial the foreignised version of Reuters' current strategy, would be to take one step closer to finding out if a shift away from the acculturating norms of news translation might ever represent a real possibility.



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## APPENDICES

### Part 1. Appendices relating to chapter 1

#### Appendix 1.1: First page of Google results from AFP headline search

Source website	Changes to AFP report	Source attributed
BangkokPost (online edition of the Thai English-language daily)	Added second paragraph	AFP
YahooSports.com	None	AFP
YahooNews.com	None	AFP
OutlookIndia.com ("weekly general interest news magazine")	Deleted 'Sunday' from lead paragraph + last sentence	None
LatestNewsLink.com (Twitter profile states – "Latest news from multiple sources all in one location")	None	Yahoo, displays first two paragraphs only, clicking the 'read more' link opens the article on YahooNews.com
LiveNetworkNews.com/bz ('About us' text describes it as "Live News that is instantly distributed to our Network of followers by Live Video and/or Text")	None	None, displays first two paragraphs only, clicking the 'read more' link opens the article on YahooNews.com
Veooz.com (Twitter profile states - "helps you find top photos & videos, latest news & buzz, sentiment & activity trends on your favorite things")	None	Bangkok Post / Zee News
www.nz.online-listing.com	None	Yahoo, displays first two paragraphs only, clicking the 'read more' link opens the article on YahooNews.com
DailyMail.org.uk (news aggregator)	None	Yahoo, displays first two paragraphs only, clicking the 'read more' link opens the article on YahooNews.com

## Part 1.2. Reproductions of the Reuters corpus in the British press

### Appendix 1.2.1: The THUGOCRACY report in the *Daily Mail* (Factiva download)



News

#### SARKOZY BLAMES 'THUGOCRACY' FOR PARIS RIOTS ; DAILY MAIL REPORTER

263 words

30 November 2007

Daily Mail

DAIM

46

English

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RIOTS which hit Paris this week were the work of a 'thugocracy' of criminals and not the result of social deprivation, French president Nicolas Sarkozy said yesterday.

His remarks came three days after dozens of police were injured in clashes with rioters following the death of two boys in a collision with a police car in the northern suburb of Villiers-le-Bel.

In a speech to police officers, Mr Sarkozy said: 'What happened has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a "thugocracy".'

A massive police presence has so far restored a tense calm to the suburb but the traces of the violence, in the form of a burned-out library and car showroom and smashed shop windows, remain.

After riots in 2005 there was a debate over the state of the grim housing estates that ring many French cities and the integration of millions of immigrants.

But Mr Sarkozy said improved facilities were not the answer. 'The response to the riots isn't yet more money on the backs of the taxpayers. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters,' he said.

Mr Sarkozy's public support has slipped below 50 per cent, a poll shows. It follows transport strikes and pessimism about France's future.

Forty-nine per cent said they trusted the president, who was elected in May, to resolve the



country's problems, while 49 per cent said they did not. A month ago, 53 per cent trusted his abilities.

## The Daily Telegraph

News: International:

**'Thugocracy' behind riots, says Sarkozy**

By Henry Samuel in Paris

380 words

30 November 2007

The Daily Telegraph

DT

019

English

(c) 2007 Telegraph Group Limited, London

PRESIDENT Nicolas Sarkozy of France risked inflaming tensions in the suburbs of Paris yesterday by declaring that violence this week was the result of a "thugocracy" of criminals, not social deprivation.

His words came after three nights of violence, which was sparked by the deaths of two teenagers in a crash with a police car.

At least 120 policemen were injured in the rioting that followed the deaths in Villiers-le-Bel, north of Paris.

"What happened in Villiers-le-Bel has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a thugocracy," he said in a speech to 2,000 gendarmes and policemen in Paris.

While the term was less provocative than his description in 2005 of rioting youths as "racaille" - or scum - it was a clear indication that he had no intention of diluting his popular iron-fisted stance on the issue.

"We were within a hair's breadth of a drama," said Mr Sarkozy, in a televised interview. "One injured policeman told me he had the shooter in the visor of his gun - he could have opened fire."

He rejected the idea of re-introducing community policing. "This has nothing to do with an accident. This has nothing to do with social problems. I will not respond to this with more money. When you try to explain the inexplicable, you end up finding excuses for the inexcusable."

The violence spread to surrounding towns and another library was set alight in a suburb of Toulouse.

Mr Sarkozy vowed to stick to his reform agenda after seeing through

a strike over pension reform this month.

He praised unions for their spirit of dialogue and reiterated that there were "no winners and losers".

To boost purchasing power, he proposed that extra days off could be cashed in as salary and that rental rates be indexed to prices, not construction costs.

He announced his intention to boost investment in universities by selling a three per cent stake in Gaz de France.

Mr Sarkozy said that handouts

were out of the question: "The French are not waiting for me to give out Christmas presents when they know full well there's nothing left in the coffers."

### **Appendix 1.2.3: The THUGOCRACY report in the *Telegraph Online*<sup>107</sup>**

Sarkozy blames Paris riots on 'thugocracy'

**President Sarkozy said the riots in the suburbs of Paris had nothing to do with a social crisis**

By Henry Samuel in Paris

5:00PM GMT 29 Nov 2007

Nicolas Sarkozy, the president of France, has risked inflaming tensions in Parisian suburbs by declaring violence this week was the result of a "thugocracy" of criminals, not social deprivation.

His words came after three nights of violence sparked by the deaths of two teenagers in a crash with a police car.

At least 120 policemen were injured in the rioting that followed the accident in Villiers-le-Bel, north of Paris.

"What happened in Villiers-le-Bel has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a 'thugocracy'," Mr Sarkozy said in a speech to 2,000 gendarmes and policemen in Paris.

While the term was less provocative than his description of rioting youths in 2005 as "racaille" - scum - it was a clear indication that he had no intention of diluting his popular iron-fisted stance on the issue.

"I reject any form of other-worldly naivety that wants to see a victim of society in anyone who breaks the law, a social problem in any riot," he said.

"The response to the riots isn't yet more money on the backs of the taxpayers. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters.

"We'll give more to those who want to get ahead honestly."

Dozens of shops were destroyed in unrest earlier this week, with more than a hundred cars, a school and a library burned.

The violence spread to surrounding towns and a library was set alight in a suburb of Toulouse, south-west France.

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<sup>107</sup> Copied and pasted 09.02.2015 from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1570927/Sarkozy-blames-Paris-riots-on-thugocracy.html>

A "Marshall plan" to improve the suburbs, due in January, would not be brought forward as a result of the riots, Mr Sarkozy insisted.

"We will now invest in people. But let it be clear we will not do it because there were riots," he said.

Mr Sarkozy, who was due to give a key televised interview, promised to stick to his reform agenda after seeing through a key strike over pension reform this month.

"I would like to go much more quickly ... in order to boost growth as quickly as possible," he said.

"I know perfectly well that these reforms will not come without effort and tension."

Judges and courtroom officials have become the latest group to take to the streets - protesting plans to change France's "judicial map" - after strikes by transport and electricity workers, civil servants and students.

The unrest has dented the popularity of the "hyper-president", with a new poll showing that, for the first time, Mr Sarkozy's personal approval rating had dropped beneath the 50 per cent mark to 49 per cent.

#### **Appendix 1.2.4: The SECURITY report in the *Mail Online*<sup>108</sup>**

##### **Sarkozy declares 'merciless war' on drug gangs and traffickers in £300m plan**

Nicolas Sarkozy today promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a "merciless war" against gangs and drug traffickers in France's riot-stricken slums.

The French president's plan to regenerate the racially diverse high-rise neighbourhoods is a response to the weeks of youth violence that erupted in 2005 and have occasionally flared up since.

"We will put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking," Mr Sarkozy told local leaders as he unveiled the plan.

Mr Sarkozy, who was a hardline interior minister at the time of the 2005 riots, also said the state could not help those living in poverty who were not willing to help themselves.

"Those who don't want to do anything, the state will not do anything for them," he said.

He continued to take a tough line over those who refuse to respect French culture and way of life.

"There is no place in France for polygamy, genital mutilation, arranged marriages, veils in school and hatred of France," he said.

Mr Sarkozy also promised £375 million to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the "rapid deghettoisation of particularly isolated neighbourhoods", which are often cut off from city centres even though they are geographically close.

He pledged more job opportunities and special training contracts to help young people find employment, and plans to send children to schools in different areas to ensure a good social mix.

Mr Sarkozy unveiled his plan just ahead of municipal elections on March 9 and 16.

His popularity has plummeted since the beginning of the year and his party fears it will pay for this in the polls.

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<sup>108</sup> Copied and pasted 09.02.2015 from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-513163/Sarkozy-declares-merciless-war-drug-gangs-traffickers-300m-plan.html>

Voters' main concern is a feeling of lost spending power, and they say he has concentrated more on his private life with new wife Carla Bruni than on helping his electorate.

Next to Mr Sarkozy as he revealed his plan stood urban policy minister Fadela Amara, the daughter of poor Algerian immigrants, who is a civil rights activist.

He said he would not stand for discrimination and urged the country's elite institutions, such as the Henri IV high school or the ENA civil servant training school, to be more diverse.

Mr Sarkozy's uncompromising stance when he was interior minister and his pledge to clean rioters out with a steamblaster generated deep hostility among many. Though he was elected president last May, he did not find time to visit one of the impoverished suburbs until last month.

## **Part 2. Appendices relating to the Reuters corpus**

The corpus used in this research project is comprised of 4 Reuters reports used in the main study, plus an additional report which was used in the pilot study and then replaced (for reasons discussed in section 3.3.3 of the thesis). I have worked with three different versions of the individual Reuters reports – the reports as downloaded from Factiva (appendices in part 2.1), the ‘original’ reports given to the participants in the ORIGINAL focus groups (appendices in part 2.4), and the ‘foreignised’ reports (appendices in part 2.5) given to the participants in the FOREIGNISED focus groups. I explain what distinguishes each version at the start of each of the appendices. In addition to these three versions, I have also included the news reports and/or speech transcripts identified as possible sources used by the Reuters journalists (appendices in part 2.2), a list of revisions made to the versions of the reports downloaded from Factiva in producing the ‘original’ versions (appendices in part 2.3) and a version of the ‘foreignised’ reports with the changes tracked and numbered (appendices in part 2.6). Again, I explain what these appendices show, and therefore why I have included them, at the start of the relevant sections.

### **Part 2.1. The reports as downloaded from Factiva**

The versions of the reports included in this section show exactly how the report appears when downloaded from Factiva. This is different to the version used as the ‘original’ report for the purposes of implementing the strategy changes and then given to the participants in the ‘ORIGINAL’ focus groups. The adjustments made to these downloaded versions are detailed in appendices 2.3.1 and 2.3.2.



**Appendix 2.1.1: CRIME POLICIES Factiva download**



**UPDATE 3- Sarkozy defends crime policies after Paris riots**

By Paul Carrel

635 words

31 October 2005

09:54

Reuters News

LBA

English

(c) 2005 Reuters Limited

(Updates with opposition, minister's comments)

BOBIGNY, France, Oct 31 (Reuters) - French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy defended his tough anti-crime policies on Monday after a fourth night of riots in a Paris suburb in which tear gas was fired into a mosque during evening prayers.

Sarkozy vowed to investigate the tear gas incident and repeated his "zero tolerance" policy towards violence that began when two teenagers were electrocuted to death after clambering into a power sub-station while apparently fleeing police.

Overnight youths hurled rocks and set fire to cars in the northeastern Clichy-sous-Bois suburb of the French capital, where many immigrants and poor families live in high-rise housing estates notorious for youth violence.

French television said six police officers were hurt and 11 people arrested in the violence.

"I want these people to be able to live in peace," Sarkozy told reporters as he mingled with local residents outside the Seine-Saint-Denis prefecture in Bobigny, which oversees Clichy-sous-Bois.

"For 30 years the situation has been getting worse in a number of neighbourhoods," he said, honing his theme of the need for a break with past policies that underpins his strategy for 2007 presidential elections.

"I am perfectly aware that it is not in three days or in three months that we will make up for 30 years," he added, pledging to crack down on gangs and drug dealers.

Sarkozy, who made his name by cutting crime figures during a first stint as interior minister from 2002 to 2004, later discussed the unrest with Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin, a potential rival in the 2007 race.

Opposition Socialists said the disturbances were proof Sarkozy's tough policies were failing.

"We need to act at the same time on prevention, repression, education, housing, jobs ... and not play the cowboy," former prime minister Laurent Fabius, who also has presidential ambitions, told Europe 1 radio.

#### FAMILY SPEAKS OUT

Siyakah Traore, whose brother died in the sub-station four days ago, called for an end to the disturbances.

"We want calm, we want justice to be done, we want the riot police to leave and to be received by Mr Villepin," he told reporters. Sarkozy had offered to meet the dead youths' parents but it was unclear if the meeting would take place, aides said.

The Clichy riots were the latest in a series of incidents in the northeastern suburbs.

In June, an 11-year-old boy was killed by a stray bullet in the northern area of La Courneuve. The eastern suburb of Vitry-sur-Seine made headlines in 2002 when a 17-year-old girl was set alight by an 18-year-old boy.

Sarkozy, who returned as interior minister in late May, launched a new crime offensive this month, ordering specially trained police to tackle 25 problem neighbourhoods.

"Sarkozy is confusing real firmness with firmness for the television cameras," Socialist spokesman Julien Dray said in comments to be published in Tuesday's Le Parisien.

Sarkozy's shoot-from-the-lip style has outraged the opposition and irritated some cabinet ministers. Equal opportunities minister Azouz Begag has implicitly criticised Sarkozy's recent reference to suburban youths as "riff-raff".

The sociologist acknowledged in Tuesday's Le Parisien he had not been forceful enough when

dealing with fellow ministers, but said he would work with Sarkozy to improve matters.

"I won't hide from you that the situation is very tense. It is urgent that we sent signals to our fellow citizens in the housing estates that we understand their problems," he said.

**Appendix 2.1.2: SECURITY Factiva download**



**Sarkozy pledges to beef up French suburb security**

By Anna Willard

519 words

8 February 2008

13:15

Reuters News

LBA

English

(c) 2008 Reuters Limited

PARIS, Feb 8 (Reuters) - President Nicolas Sarkozy promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a "merciless war" against gangs and drug traffickers in France's poor suburbs, many of which have faced sporadic violence since riots in 2005.

Sarkozy's plan to regenerate the ethnically diverse neighbourhoods of high-rise housing blocks is a response to the weeks of youth violence and scenes of burning cars that made headlines three years ago and have occasionally flared up since.

"We will put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking," Sarkozy told local leaders as he unveiled the plan, which follows on proposals by urban policy minister Fadela Amara, a civil rights activist and one of several left-wing figures in the government.

He promised 500 million euros (\$724.6 million) to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the "rapid deghettoization of particularly isolated neighbourhoods", which are often cut off from city centres even though they are geographically close.

He also promised more job opportunities and special training contracts to help young people find employment, and plans to send children to schools in different areas to ensure a good social mix.

Sarkozy unveiled his plan just ahead of municipal elections on March 9 and 16.

His popularity has plummeted since the beginning of the year and his party fears it will pay for this in the polls.

Voters' main concern is a feeling of lost spending power, and they say he has concentrated more on his private life with new wife Carla Bruni, rather than helping them out.

Sarkozy stood beside Amara, the daughter of poor Algerian immigrants and founder of the group "Ni Putes, Ni Soumises" (Neither Whores, Nor Submissives"), as he revealed his plan.

He said he would not stand for discrimination and urged the country's elite institutions, such as the Henri IV high school or the ENA civil servant training school, to be more diverse.

But Sarkozy, who was a hardline interior minister at the time of the 2005 riots, also said the state could not help those living in poverty who were not willing to help themselves.

"Those who don't want to do anything, the state will not do anything for them," he said.

Sarkozy's uncompromising position with the mostly young rioters when he was interior minister and his pledge to clean them out with a steamblaster generated deep hostility among many in the suburbs and he has rarely returned.

In January, he made his first visit to an impoverished suburb since he was elected last May and met and talked to several young people.

Sarkozy on Friday continued to take a tough line with those refusing to respect French culture and way of life.

"There is no place in France for polygamy, genital mutilation, arranged marriages, veils in school and hatred of France," he said. (Writing by Anna Willard, editing by Mary Gabriel)

**Appendix 2.1.3: THUGOCRACY Factiva download**



**UPDATE 1- Sarkozy says "thugocracy" behind French riots**

By James Mackenzie

592 words

29 November 2007

12:08

Reuters News

LBA

English

(c) 2007 Reuters Limited

(Adds quote. paragraph 8-10)

PARIS, Nov 29 (Reuters) - Riots which hit a Paris suburb this week were the work of a "thugocracy" of criminals and not the result of social deprivation, French President Nicolas Sarkozy said on Thursday.

Sarkozy's remarks came three days after dozens of police were injured in clashes with rioters following the death of two boys in a collision with a police car in the suburb of Villiers-le-Bel, to the north of Paris.

"I reject any form of other-worldly naivety that wants to see a victim of society in anyone who breaks the law, a social problem in any riot," he said in a speech to police officers.

"What happened in Villiers-le-Bel has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a 'thugocracy'."

This week's unrest reawakened memories of the violence that struck many poor French suburbs in 2005 when rioting youths torched thousands of cars during weeks of clashes with police.

A massive police presence has restored a tense calm to Villiers-le-Bel over the past two nights but traces of the violence, in the form of a burned-out library and car showroom and smashed shop windows and bus shelters, remain.

The 2005 riots, the worst urban violence in France in 40 years, provoked months of agonised

debate over the state of the grim housing estates that ring many French cities and the integration of millions of black and North African immigrants.

Many inhabitants of the poor suburbs say the government has failed to address their problems.

"Nothing has changed (since 2005). There's just no work for young people," said Jamila El Kadiri, who attended a silent march in Villiers-le-Bel in honour of the two dead teenagers.

Her daughter Nawel, 18, agreed. "Some of my friends want to quit school because they don't see the point. They think they won't find a job afterwards anyway."

Sarkozy, who struck a similarly uncompromising tone when he was interior minister in 2005, said the answer to the riots did not lie in spending more on improving facilities.

"The response to the riots isn't yet more money on the backs of the tax payers. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters," he said.

In 2005 Sarkozy triggered outrage, including among many people unconnected with the unrest, when he branded the rioters as "racaille" ("scum" or "rabble").

The "quartiers" or "cites", as the estates are known, are a world away from the prosperous centres of cities like Paris, blighted by high crime and unemployment, poor transport links and run-down housing.

Young people, many the children of immigrants, have frequently hostile relations with police and the courts, whom they often accuse of routine discrimination, but there was little sign of sympathy in the president's speech.

"If a little tough guy can come back after every crime to his housing estate to be welcomed as a hero, it's an insult ... to the republic," Sarkozy said.

"We'll give more to those who want to get ahead honestly and the ones who don't want to will get more too, but not in the same way," he added. (Additional reporting by Kerstin Gehmlich; Editing by Jon Boyle and Sami Aboudi)

**Appendix 2.1.4: DUMMY Factiva download****France's Sarkozy caught calling journalist "dummy "**

534 words

15 March 2012

23:34

Reuters News

LBA

English

(c) 2012 Reuters Limited

PARIS, March 15 (Reuters) - French President Nicolas Sarkozy was caught on camera calling a journalist a "dummy" during an official visit on Thursday, in an outburst his Socialist election rival Francois Hollande condemned as vulgar and undignified.

Sarkozy has earned a reputation for blunt speaking during his five-year presidency. In the runup to April's first round presidential vote, he appears to have been at pains to shed that image.

But during a visit to Chalons-sur-Marne, east of Paris, he appeared to lose patience with a young journalist when questioned about clashes between police and striking steel workers in the capital on Thursday.

"Do you think I give a damn about what you say? What do you expect me to say?" he says, adding: "What a dummy!"

He then turned back smiling to the journalist and slapped him on the shoulder, apologizing for the comment and saying: "He's nice really. He's young."

Socialist candidate Francois Hollande blasted Sarkozy in the wake of the incident accusing him of slipping back into the "excesses" and "vulgarity" that had marked his five-year term.

"Do you think that's the best way to conduct a dignified public debate?" he said on France 2 television.

Some 150 workers from the ArcelorMittal steel mill at Floranges in eastern France gathered



outside Sarkozy's campaign headquarters in Paris earlier in the day to protest at the threatened closure of the plant and push for a solution.

The protest turned violent as workers tried to break through a police line, prompting riot police to fire tear gas to put an end to the demonstration.

Sarkozy's comments came only hours after he had himself criticized his rival Hollande for losing his temper, referring to the Socialist candidate's heated campaign speech in Marseilles a day earlier.

"There's no need to get angry, tense up, to be nasty or aggressive," he told journalists on the sidelines of an earlier visit to a metal factory.

Sarkozy has been dogged by a reputation for inflammatory language since he captured the headlines during his 2007 presidential campaign with a call to rid the Paris suburbs of young "scum".

In 2008 he was caught on camera telling a man at an agricultural fair to "get lost, jerk", a phrase that would haunt him throughout his presidency.

That, combined with his whirlwind romance with model-turned-singer Carla Bruni and his friendships with wealthy businessmen, alienated many voters.

Sarkozy has consistently trailed Hollande in polls of voting intentions, but overtook his arch-rival in the first-round vote in an IFOP poll this week. Second-round polls still show Hollande as the outright winner.

The latest daily rolling poll of voting intentions by IFOP for magazine Paris Match, showed Sarkozy taking 28 percent of the vote in the first round on April 22, against 26.5 percent for Hollande. Hollande would still win in a second-round runoff, with 53.5 percent against 46.5 percent for Sarkozy.

(Reporting by Vicky Buffery; editing by Daniel Flynn)

**Appendix 2.1.5: IMMIGRATION Factiva download**



**France's Sarkozy pledges tough immigration line**

By Gerard Bon

485 words

11 December 2006

15:04

Reuters News

LBA

English

(c) 2006 Reuters Limited

PARIS, Dec 11 (Reuters) - French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy called for a special ministry of immigration to be set up as he pledged to pursue a tough line on illegal arrivals.

Sarkozy, the likely right-wing candidate in next year's presidential election, has made a name for himself as a law-and-order hardliner and underlined his approach in a review of immigration policy on Monday.

"Our policy of firmness is paying off," he told a news conference. "France is an open country but it's not a wasteland where you can just set up as the wind takes you."

The number of expulsions has doubled in three years, he said.

He said he envisaged the proposed new minister being charged with ensuring the policy was kept up and reinforced while also coordinating all aspects of the dossier.

"The Minister of Immigration will be responsible for maintaining a resolute policy of firmness in the struggle against illegal immigration," he said.

Sarkozy, whose tough talk is adored and hated in equal measure by French voters, is running neck and neck with Socialist candidate Segolene Royal in opinion polls ahead of next April's ballot.

His hard line on immigration is also seen as an attempt to win over voters who might otherwise pick a far right candidate such as National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Sarkozy said 2005 had been "a break year" with the number of new residence permits granted falling 2.6 percent from the previous year to 187,000 after rising steadily from 150,000 in 2000 to 191,000 in 2003.

He said the number of illegal entrants expelled from France had doubled to some 20,000 in 2005 from 10,000 in 2002.

Sarkozy's comments reflect rising concern in Europe over a sharp rise in illegal immigration from poor countries in Africa, balanced by calls for a more ordered immigration policy.

A law on selected immigration passed in July this year will take effect from 2007 and Sarkozy said it would open the way to a more planned approach. He criticised the approach of previous governments which granted mass amnesties to illegal entrants.

"The immigration debate has for too long been taken over by two extreme ideologies, one which wants zero immigration and one which just wants to open up the frontiers," he said, adding he wanted to see "selected and regulated immigration".

He also called for a European pact on immigration and said he hoped one day to see an international treaty.

"The international community has got organised to manage major planetary issues," he said. "Strangely, international migration is not subject to any global regulation and is left to planetary chaos," he said.

## **Part 2.2. Reporting/speech transcripts identified as possible sources**

As explained in the thesis, the English Reuters reports used in the corpus are not translations of French reports, but new reports about French news events produced for the English language newswire. The journalist producing the English report will, nonetheless, have drawn on French sources; the quotations in particular will have been either sourced directly by Reuters journalists attending a press conference or interviewing individuals, or indirectly from official government transcripts or reporting by other news organisations. It is not possible to know for certain where quotations are sourced from but looking at what Reuters published in French on the same news story on the same day has enabled me to identify possible sources. It has been important to do so in order to see the original wording of quotations.

I present the possible sources for each report in turn in the sections 1.2.1 – 1.2.5; at the start of each section I list the sources identified and then discuss how and why these are identified as possible sources, before finally presenting the sources themselves.

#### Appendix 2.2.1: Account of CRIME POLICIES possible sources

1. Reuters French report – Sarkozy promet fermeté mais aussi prévention,
2. Fabius radio interview transcript published by Vie-publique.fr
3. Dray interview in *Le Parisien*
4. Begag interview in *Le Parisien*

As summarised in the lead paragraph, the news event covered in the CRIME POLICIES report is comments Sarkozy made about his anti-crime policies in the context of rioting in the Paris *banlieue*. The French Reuters report (see Appendix 2.2.1.1), published just under 2 hours before the English report, is identified as a likely source on the basis of three common factors between it and the English report. Firstly, with the exception of the “zero tolerance” quote paraphrased in paragraph 2, every word that Sarkozy is reported to have said in the CRIME POLICIES report is also reported in the French report. Secondly, the quote from Siyakah Traore (the brother of one of the teenagers who died in Clichy-sous-Bois, an event which sparked the riots) is also included in the French report. Lastly, both reports mention Azouz Begag’s criticisms of Sarkozy’s use of language. It seems unlikely that the journalist would have arrived at this same combination of content if the French report had not been used as a source of information.

There are indications that the journalist used other sources in addition to the French Reuters report. Paragraph 10 includes a quote from an interview Laurent Fabius gave on French radio. This quote is not included in the French Reuters report (although a different part of the interview, not mentioned in the English report, is quoted) and could not be found in any other French Reuters reporting. It is possible that the journalist listened to the interview themselves or read the transcript published by Vie-publique.fr (see Appendix 2.2.1.2), the relevant part is underlined). It is also possible that the quote was included in an earlier version of the French report, which the journalist of the CRIME POLICIES report had access to, but was later edited out before publication.

The CRIME POLICIES report includes two other quotes not included in the French report; one quote from Julien Dray (paragraph 16) and another from Azouz Begag (final paragraph). As specified in the English report, the original sources of these quotes are interviews to be published in the French newspaper *Le Parisien* the following day (see appendices 2.2.1.3 and 2.2.1.4, relevant parts underlined). Since the interviews are not mentioned in the French report (or any other French Reuters report I could find) it appears that the journalist sourced the quotes directly from the interviews themselves, although it is not clear how this would have been possible before their publication in *Le Parisien*.

**Appendix 2.2.1.1: CRIME POLICIES possible source 1: Reuters French report**



**LEAD 2 - France - Sarkozy promet fermeté mais aussi prévention (Factiva download)**

par Hélène Fontanaud

852 words

31 October 2005

08:06

Reuters - Les actualités en français

REUTFR

French

(c) Reuters Limited 2005.

PARIS, 31 octobre (Reuters) - Nicolas Sarkozy a promis fermeté mais aussi prévention dans les quartiers sensibles après quatre nuits d'émeutes dans la banlieue parisienne, qui ont ravivé les critiques de la gauche sur la politique de sécurité menée depuis 2002.

Le ministre de l'Intérieur, qui s'est rendu lundi matin à Bobigny pour rencontrer à la préfecture policiers, gendarmes et pompiers mobilisés depuis quatre jours en Seine-Saint-Denis, a mis en cause la politique menée dans "un certain nombre de quartiers" depuis trente ans.

"Ça fait trente ans qu'on a laissé la situation s'aggraver dans un certain nombre de quartiers, trente ans !", a-t-il déclaré. "Je veux que les gens puissent vivre tranquillement (...) Ce n'est pas une affaire de trois jours ou une affaire de trois semaines ou une affaire de trois mois."

Il a apporté son soutien aux forces de l'ordre, les félicitant "pour leur sang-froid et leur professionnalisme".

"Il ne faut pas se tromper : ceux qui ont été agressés, ce sont les forces de l'ordre, pas les voyous. Les CRS ont essuyé des tirs de gros calibres", a-t-il affirmé.

Nicolas Sarkozy a souligné qu'"un travail de spécialiste" était désormais nécessaire "pour repérer les trafiquants, les chefs de bande, les caïds qui font vivre une économie souterraine sur l'économie saine du quartier".

Face aux critiques de la gauche, le ministre de l'Intérieur et président de l'UMP a dénoncé "le traitement social" du mal des banlieues. "Il faut deux choses maintenant, il faut un travail pour ces jeunes, qui le souhaitent, et il faut de la fermeté pour ceux qui ne veulent pas comprendre qu'il y a des lois aussi pour eux", a-t-il plaidé.

Nicolas Sarkozy a précisé qu'il allait "présenter avant la fin de l'année un plan national de prévention de la délinquance". Il s'agissait initialement d'un projet de loi.

Le ministre de l'Intérieur a par ailleurs reconnu qu'une "grenade lacrymogène" avait atteint une mosquée de Clichy-sous-Bois au cours de la quatrième nuit de violences.

"Je confirme que c'est bien une grenade lacrymogène qui est en dotation des compagnies d'intervention qui étaient sur place en Seine-Saint-Denis, ce qui ne veut pas dire que c'est un tir fait par un policier. C'est l'enquête qui le déterminera", a-t-il précisé.

#### TIR DE GRENADE DANS UNE MOSQUÉE

Des fidèles de la mosquée ont accusé la police d'avoir envoyé une ou plusieurs grenades à l'intérieur de leur lieu de culte.

C'est en partie en raison de cet incident que des membres des familles des deux adolescents électrocutés dans un transformateur EDF jeudi soir et dont le décès est à l'origine de la flambée de violences ont refusé de rencontrer Nicolas Sarkozy.

Le ministère de l'Intérieur indiquait lundi après-midi que la rencontre pourrait n'être que retardée.

Pour Siyakah Traoré, frère de Bouna, l'un des deux jeunes décédés, "ce qui s'est passé à la mosquée est vraiment irrespectueux". "Nous demandons le calme, nous demandons que justice soit faite, nous demandons que les CRS partent et nous demandons à être reçus par M. de Villepin", a-t-il dit lors d'une conférence de presse à Clichy-sous-Bois.

Le Premier ministre, Dominique de Villepin, a reçu Nicolas Sarkozy pendant une heure lundi après-midi pour faire le point sur la situation en Seine-Saint-Denis.

Un des collègues de Nicolas Sarkozy, Azouz Begag, ministre délégué à la Promotion de l'égalité des chances, a critiqué implicitement le ministre de l'Intérieur en demandant qu'on ne traite pas les jeunes des banlieues difficiles de "racaille".

"Il ne faut pas dire aux jeunes qu'ils sont des racailles, il ne faut pas dire aux jeunes qu'on va leur rentrer dedans et qu'on va leur envoyer la police. Il faut y aller avec une volonté d'apaiser", a-t-il dit sur France 2 dimanche soir.

Nicolas Sarkozy a reçu le soutien du député-maire UMP du Raincy (Seine-Saint-Denis), Eric Raoult. "Il faut Borloo pour rénover les cités mais il faut Sarkozy pour ramener la sécurité", a

lancé celui-ci sur RTL.

La gauche a en revanche déclenché un tir nourri de critiques contre Nicolas Sarkozy, qui a fait de la lutte contre l'insécurité l'un des axes majeurs de sa conquête de l'opinion, dans la perspective de l'élection présidentielle de 2007.

L'ancien Premier ministre socialiste Laurent Fabius a déclaré qu'en employant la formule "nettoyer au Karcher" ou le terme de "racaille" à l'encontre de certains jeunes des cités, Nicolas Sarkozy avait créé "un climat terrible".

"Le problème, c'est que le sarkozysme, ça ne marche pas", avait lancé dimanche soir l'ancien ministre PS Dominique Strauss-Kahn. /HF

(avec la contribution de Paul Carrel à Bobigny)



## Appendix 2.2.1.2: CRIME POLICIES possible source 2 – Fabius radio interview transcript

published by Vie-publique.fr<sup>109</sup>

Personnalité, fonction : FABIUS Laurent.

FRANCE. PS, député

M. Tronchet - Ex Premier ministre, ex premier secrétaire du PS, aspirant à la fonction présidentielle, bonjour L. Fabius.

Bonjour.

Comment mesure-t-on, quand on a votre expérience et vos ambitions, l'engrenage de Clichy-sous-Bois où cette nuit encore ont eu lieu des incidents ?

J'ai à la fois l'expérience gouvernementale et l'expérience d'être élu local depuis maintenant plus de 20 ans, donc je connais de l'intérieur ces problèmes très difficiles. D'abord, je veux avoir une pensée, c'est tout à fait normal, pour les familles des jeunes qui sont morts, et aussi pour toute la population de Clichy-sous-Bois. C'est une ville que je connais bien, je connais bien son maire, C. Dilain, qui est un homme tout à fait remarquable, et c'est une ville difficile, bien sûr, mais où un travail extraordinaire a été fait, et là tout d'un coup, en quelques jours, tout est remis en cause.

Pourquoi ?

Parce qu'il y a, dans des circonstances qu'on ne connaît pas, qu'il va falloir élucider rapidement, la mort de ces deux jeunes. J'ai entendu des versions différentes, le ministre de l'Intérieur dit une chose, après il dit autre chose etc, donc il faut faire la lumière là dessus, ça c'est clair. Et puis il y a, ce qui est évidemment tout à fait inacceptable, inadmissible, insupportable, les violences qui sont insupportables là, comme elles le sont partout, mais en même temps ça veut dire que c'est un échec, je crois qu'on est obligé de le dire, de la politique menée par le ministre de l'Intérieur depuis maintenant 3 ans, 3,5 ans.

Mais ça fait 20 ans que ce problème existe. Vous portez tous, à gauche ou à droite, une part de responsabilité, dans la montée de cette violence, dans ce problème de zones de non droit qui existe dans les cités.

D'une certaine manière oui, mais d'une façon inégale. Je crois que ce gouvernement-ci a commis une ou deux erreurs très très fortes, et je vais les pointer, là encore en tant qu'homme de terrain. D'abord je crois que c'était une grande erreur de supprimer ce qu'on a appelé la police de proximité, vous vous rappelez, ça a été fait au début du gouvernement Raffarin. La police de proximité, c'est quelque chose que nous avions établi, c'est-à-dire que les policiers soient au plus près des citoyens, et ça a été supprimé pour des raisons idéologiques, alors je crois qu'on a besoin de ça. Et puis, ce gouvernement et son prédécesseur, de droite, ont donné le sentiment de s'occuper beaucoup moins de la prévention que de la répression, or il faut les deux. Il faut de la répression, parce qu'il ne faut pas être angélique avec l'insécurité, avec la violence, il faut absolument réprimer ce qui doit être réprimé, mais en même temps on a besoin d'accompagner, de prévenir, on a besoin de développer les associations, alors que là on leur a supprimé les crédits, on a besoin de développer l'éducation, alors qu'elle est en recul, on a besoin de développer le logement. Moi je prends ma propre ville, qui est une ville ouvrière de 27.000 habitants, où, je touche du bois, je n'ai pas eu des problèmes aussi graves, mais si on veut maîtriser ces questions d'insécurité, il faut faire travailler tous les jours, je dis bien tous les jours, ensemble, à la fois la société HLM, à la fois les éducateurs, à la fois la justice, à la fois les professeurs, c'est un travail de maillage, et quand on voit un ministre de l'Intérieur qui arrive en disant, en traitant les uns les autres, un jour au "Karcher", le jour suivant de "racaille", comprenez bien que tout ça crée un climat terrible. Alors, ça n'excuse rien, ça n'excuse rien, mais ce n'est pas comme ça qu'on va résoudre les problèmes.

Et quand il parle de "tolérance zéro", quand il dit qu'il y aura un indicateur mensuel des violences urbaines, c'est du blabla ?

Oui, écoutez les indicateurs, ce n'est pas avec les indicateurs qu'on va résoudre les problèmes. De même quand il nous annonce, je crois que c'était hier ou avant hier, qu'il va toutes les semaines, ou je ne sais pas combien, deux fois par semaine, se déplacer dans telle ou telle commune, de telle ou telle banlieue. Ce n'est pas comme ça qu'on résout les problèmes. Moi je discutais, enfin je voyais la réaction du maire

<sup>109</sup> Copied and pasted 09.02.2015 from: <http://discours.vie-publique.fr/notices/053003096.html>

de La Courneuve, vous vous rappelez, chez lequel monsieur Sarkozy était allé, il avait dit " je vais traiter cette commune, cette cité, au Karcher ". J'avais été extrêmement frappé, choqué, mais en même temps c'était fort, lorsque le maire avait dit : " Si on dit, je vais traiter cette cité au Karcher, cela veut dire qu'on considère que les habitants sont des saletés ", parce que le Karcher, c'est pour se débarrasser des saletés. On ne peut pas agir comme ça. Il faut, je le répète, ne pas être angélique, la violence est inadmissible, et peut-être qu'à un certain moment la gauche a donné le sentiment d'être trop naïve, alors qu'il ne faut absolument pas être naïf.

Il y a des choses dans votre motion pour le Congrès du Mans, sur cette question, l'insécurité ?

Bien évidemment. La sécurité c'est un droit premier, la sécurité c'est un droit fondamental, ce qu'on a appelé la sûreté, c'est un droit fondamental, et donc agir à la fois, prévention, répression, éducation, logement, emploi, savoirs, associations, c'est tout ça qu'il faut faire en même temps, et non pas faire le cow-boy. Il ne s'agit pas de susciter les problèmes ou de développer les problèmes, il s'agit de les régler.

Qu'on s'interroge, qu'on enquête, comme l'a dit monsieur Sarkozy, sur le patrimoine de certaines personnes qui roulent en voitures de luxe...

Mais très bien, mais ça fait longtemps qu'on le fait, c'est très bien. Quand vous voyez dans certaines cités, effectivement passer des voitures de luxe, avec des gens qui n'ont aucune ressource...

Qui pointent parfois à l'ANPE.

Le cas échéant, il faut enquêter, mais ça fait déjà longtemps qu'on le fait.

Vous avez dit un jour que Le Pen apportait les bonnes questions, apportait les mauvaises réponses. Vous diriez que Sarkozy pose les bonnes questions ?

Mais non, les questions elles sont posées à l'évidence. Quand vous voyez une ville qui brûle, quand vous voyez de pauvres jeunes gens qui sont brûlés dans un transformateur, comme je l'entendais dire, ils ne sont pas montés tout seul comme ça, en disant " qu'est-ce qu'on a à faire cet après-midi, ce soir, on va aller monter un mur de 4 mètres ". Donc, évidemment qu'il faut réagir durement. Mais, je crois qu'il faut prendre ces problèmes sérieusement à fond et non pas en se disant : "quelle émission de télévision ça va donner pour moi ?".

On a eu l'impression qu'entre responsables socialistes vous rivalisiez d'attaques contre le Gouvernement. Aujourd'hui, N. Sarkozy c'est une cible privilégiée ou est-ce que c'est le ministre du Gouvernement, si c'en était un autre ce serait pareil ?

Ce n'est pas le problème. Moi je n'ai jamais établi de distinction entre tel ou tel et j'évite d'attaquer les personnes. Il y a un ensemble : monsieur Chirac, monsieur Sarkozy, monsieur Villepin, monsieur Raffarin, ils font équipe. C'est un ensemble, ce sont des gouvernements de droite qui mènent une politique, non seulement conservatrice, mais réactionnaire, avec des résultats extrêmement faibles. Donc, il n'y a pas lieu de distinguer l'un ou l'autre.

Il n'y a rien qui trouve grâce à vos yeux dans ce que fait le gouvernement aujourd'hui ? Rien du tout. C'est zéro pointé.

Non, il peut y avoir des choses. Par exemple ce qui a été fait en matière de sécurité routière est quelque chose de positif, qui aurait pu être fait avant. C'est un exemple. Par exemple, dans un autre domaine, d'actualité, de triste actualité, j'ai l'impression que ce qui est fait pour prévenir la grippe aviaire est un bon dispositif. Mais, là vous m'interrogez sur les questions de sécurité, sur l'économie et le social. C'est effectivement précarité, inégalité et zéro pointé. Écoutez, c'est la réalité. Quand vous voyez qu'en matière de pouvoir d'achat, il y a un recul massif, qu'en matière de...

L'emploi semble aller mieux.

Non, je crois seulement que les élections approchent, ce n'est pas tout à fait la même chose.

T. Breton a été piqué au vif par vos accusations de copinage sur la réforme fiscale. Que l'ISF soit...

Non mais, je suis tout à fait prêt à retirer l'expression "copinage fiscal" dès que monsieur Breton aura retiré son texte.

Que l'ISF soit réformé, monsieur Fabius, vous le contestez totalement ? C'est un impôt qui pêche par des tas de défauts.

Le principal défaut aux yeux de monsieur BRETON, c'est qu'il touche les personnes les plus fortunées de France. Regardons les choses concrètement. Dans ce budget, il y a pour les 8,5 millions de foyers, qui touchent la prime pour l'emploi, c'est-à-dire les foyers les plus modestes, pour ces 8,5 millions de foyers, il y a un avantage de 4,73 euros par mois, et pour les 10 000 personnes qui sont les plus fortunées de France, il y a un avantage de 24 000 euros en moins d'impôts par an. Quand on voit ces deux chiffres, si ça ne s'appelle pas de l'injustice fiscale, eh bien je vois que vous avez un Larousse là devant vous, ouvrez le Larousse.

Monsieur Fabius, L. Jospin a écrit un livre, c'est un événement de quelle portée ?

Il me l'a envoyé, L. Jospin, ce livre, avec une dédicace gentille, j'ai commencé de le lire. C'est un livre intéressant, il y a des points avec lesquels je suis tout à fait d'accord, il y a des points avec lesquels on peut avoir des désaccords, mais il est tout à fait légitime que L. Jospin puisse écrire un livre. Il a dit, pour aller dans le sens de votre question, je comprends bien ce qu'il y a derrière, " je me retire de la vie politique active ", très bien. Mais ça ne l'empêche pas d'écrire un livre quand même !

Il appartient au passé, L. JOSPIN ?

Écoutez, en tout cas il écrit un livre, voilà ce que je peux dire.

Vous réclamez tous du changement, à quelques jours du Congrès du Mans.

Oui. Enfin, ceux qui considèrent que... quel est le principal problème là, vous m'interrogez sur le Congrès du Mans.

Pour faire la différence entre les différentes motions qui s'y présentent.

Voilà, je vais vous dire deux différences. Toute une série de responsables du PS considère que la défaite de 2002, présidentielles, et puis le score de 2005 avec le référendum, toute une série de responsables considère que ce sont des accidents. Moi je ne considère pas que ce sont des accidents. Quand notre candidat, malgré ses grands mérites, aux élections présidentielles, recueille 13 % des voix des ouvriers, 14 % des voix des employés, ça veut dire qu'il y a un vrai problème. Et quand de nouveau, en 2005, le Parti socialiste, dans les conditions que l'on sait, donne une certaine consigne de vote et que les électeurs de gauche majoritairement vont en sens inverse, il y a un problème. Donc, la première différence c'est que, moi je suis de ceux qui considèrent qu'il faut regarder, écouter le peuple, et non pas dire le peuple a tort, premièrement. Deuxièmement, il y a des différences dans les propositions, pas sur tous les points, heureusement, mais c'est vrai que moi j'essaie de faire, instruit par l'expérience, parce que je balaye devant ma porte, la responsabilité est collectivité, des propositions qui soient authentiquement de gauche et où il n'y ait pas ce que j'appelle d'approche un peu mi-chèvre mi-chou.

Dernière question. D. Strauss-Kahn hier soir sur Europe 1 a dit qu'il ne croyait pas une seconde que vous pourriez vous présenter contre le Parti socialiste si vous n'étiez pas choisi par celui-ci. Est-ce qu'il a raison ?

Il a raison, et réciproquement.

(Source : Premier ministre, Service d'information du Gouvernement, le 9 novembre 2005)

### Appendix 2.2.1.3: CRIME POLICIES possible source 3 – Dray interview in *Le Parisien*

(Factiva download)



LE FAIT DU JOUR

« **Sarkozy a oublié les cités** »

Propos recueillis par Béatrice Houchard

365 words

1 November 2005

Le Parisien

LEPARI

2

French

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Nicolas Sarkozy est-il un « pompier pyromane » ? Julien Dray. Malheureusement, Nicolas Sarkozy s'est contenté de faire une politique de sécurité pour les beaux quartiers, mais il a oublié les cités, se contentant d'y faire des incursions régulières. Le gouvernement a coupé les crédits des associations, laissé seuls les élus au travail et abandonné la police de proximité, essentielle pour le maintien du calme dans les cités. A Clichy-sous-Bois, il y a eu en outre la volonté du Premier ministre, comme du ministre de l'Intérieur, d'aller au-devant de l'enquête, en donnant des événements une explication rapide, blessante et choquante pour les familles et la population. Nous sommes au coeur d'une communication spectacle où l'on préfère l'effet d'annonce au travail sérieux et patient. Il n'est pas sûr que, dans cette affaire, Sarkozy ait rendu service à la police.

« Il confond la fermeté réelle et la fermeté télévisuelle » La venue de Sarkozy à Argenteuil a-t-elle été un élément accélérateur dans les événements de Clichy ? La visite à Argenteuil renvoie au rapport de tension entre la police et les jeunes des quartiers, qui s'est créé depuis la prestation cet été de Nicolas Sarkozy à La Courneuve (NDLR : ses déclarations sur « le nettoyage des cités au kärcher ») et l'abandon de la police de proximité. Les seules forces présentes sur le terrain sont des forces d'intervention rapide, comme les brigades anticriminalité ou les CRS. Il n'y a plus ce lien entre la police et la population, essentiel notamment dans des situations dramatiques comme à Clichy. Le vocabulaire utilisé par Sarkozy (« kärcher », « racaille ») contribue-t-il à mettre de l'huile sur le feu ? Dans les cités, des centaines de jeunes sont victimes de discriminations et ne sont ni des voyous ni des « racailles ». Mais ils ont le sentiment qu'on les a abandonnés, qu'on les désigne à la vindicte populaire et qu'au moindre incident, ils sont mis dans le même sac. Pour eux, ça devient insupportable. Sarkozy confond la fermeté réelle avec la fermeté télévisuelle.

#### Appendix 2.2.1.4: CRIME POLICIES possible source 4 - Begag interview in Le Parisien

(Factiva download)



LE FAIT DU JOUR

« Il faut choisir ses mots »

Propos recueillis par Frédéric Gerschel

392 words

1 November 2005

Le Parisien

LEPARI

2

French

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Nicolas Sarkozy a-t-il raison de parler de « racaille » et de « voyou » à propos de certains jeunes des cités ? Azouz Begag. Les gens qui vivent dans ces banlieues défavorisées sont extrêmement sensibles et susceptibles. Parce qu'ils sont pauvres, parce qu'ils ne sont pas nés avec une cuillère d'argent dans la bouche, parce qu'ils vivent chaque jour des discriminations au faciès. Alors, quand on parle avec eux, il faut toujours choisir ses mots. C'est plus élégant et plus efficace. Mais je veux faire ici mon mea culpa : ça fait cinq mois que je suis au gouvernement et je n'ai pas été assez incisif. J'ai été trop faible. A moi de faire le tour des ministères pour discuter avec mes collègues du gouvernement et leur expliquer ce qui se passe réellement dans ces quartiers où l'on souffre. A moi d'aller voir Sarkozy pour qu'on trouve des solutions ensemble, qu'on répare les malentendus, qu'on apaise les passions.

« Nous payons vingt ans d'inaction » Craignez-vous de nouveaux débordements ? Je ne vous cache pas que la situation est très tendue. Il est urgent d'envoyer des signes, de dire à nos concitoyens qui vivent dans les cités qu'on comprend leurs problèmes. Qu'on va essayer de mieux les intégrer. Croyez-moi, quand on a une gueule d'Arabe ou de Noir, ce n'est pas facile de trouver du travail même lorsqu'on a un bac + 3. Il faut que tout le monde trouve sa place. Dans la police, dans la fonction publique territoriale, dans les conseils municipaux - y compris celui de Clichy-sous-Bois - à tous les échelons de la société française. Il faut vaincre les préjugés et c'est un travail colossal.

La gauche est très critique contre le gouvernement... Le PS n'a rien à dire sur la question des banlieues. Qu'a-t-il fait depuis les années 1980 et les promesses non tenues du candidat Mitterrand ? Elle est où la France black-blanc-beur que les socialistes nous promettaient ? Nulle part. De Mitterrand à Jospin, cela n'a été qu'un grand bla-bla saupoudré d'un peu de SOS Racisme. Et nous payons aujourd'hui ces vingt ans d'inaction.

### Appendix 2.2.2: Account of SECURITY possible sources

1. Reuters French report A - Sarkozy promet une "guerre sans merci" contre les trafics,
2. Reuters French report B - Banlieues - "Nouvelle politique" sans nouveau financement,
3. Official government transcript of Sarkozy's speech

Reuters French report A (see Appendix 2.2.2.1) is identified as a likely source for the SECURITY report mainly because its lead paragraph, which summarises the news event being reported, is very similar to the wording used in the lead paragraph of the SECURITY report. Reuters French report B (see Appendix 2.2.2.2) is identified as a likely source because the majority of the parts of Sarkozy's 7,000-word speech<sup>110</sup> included in the SECURITY report are the same as those included in this French report. Only three parts of the speech quoted in the SECURITY report are not included in Reuters French report B (nor in report A) - in paragraph 5 the part about plans to send children to schools in different areas, in paragraph 10 the part about the need for diversity in elite educational institutions, and the part quoted in the final paragraph. It therefore appears that an additional source, possibly the official transcript of the speech (see Appendix 2.2.2.3, relevant sections underlined), may also have been used. It is also possible that the journalist was present at the speech and included these three parts of the speech from her own notes, particularly since the parts from paragraphs 5 and 10 are paraphrased rather than quoted directly.

A further suggestion that the journalist may have been present at the speech is that the SECURITY report mentions that "Sarkozy stood beside Amara" (paragraph 9), whereas when Amara is mentioned in Reuters French report B, a picture of the scene is painted instead by stating the number of people present at the palace (paragraph 17). Another possibility is that these three parts were included in an earlier version of the Reuters French report B which the journalist had access to, and were later edited out prior to publication.

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<sup>110</sup> Approximate word count from the official transcript (see Appendix 2.2.2.3)

**Appendix 2.2.2.1: SECURITY possible source 1 – Reuters French report A** (Factiva download)



**LEAD 2 Sarkozy promet une "guerre sans merci" contre les trafics**

715 words

8 February 2008

10:20

Reuters - Les actualités en français

REUTFR

French

(c) Reuters Limited 2008.

(Actualisé avec détails)

PARIS, 8 février (Reuters) - Nicolas Sarkozy a promis vendredi de mener une "guerre sans merci" contre les trafics et les "voyous" dans les cités sensibles et annoncé le déploiement de 4.000 policiers de plus en trois ans dans ces quartiers.

"Le premier devoir de l'Etat c'est d'assurer la sécurité", a déclaré le président de la République lors de la présentation d'un plan pour les banlieues, à l'Elysée. "Le premier droit des citoyens c'est le droit de vivre tranquillement sans se trouver sans cesse menacé par des voyous."

"J'assume tout ce que j'ai dit et fait par le passé sur le sujet", a-t-il ajouté en faisant notamment allusion à des propos tenus lorsqu'il était ministre de l'Intérieur et qui lui ont été beaucoup reprochés.

Lors de visites fin 2005 dans la banlieue parisienne, il avait promis de débarrasser la "dalle d'Argenteuil" de sa "racaille" et de nettoyer au "Kärcher" une cité de la Courneuve, quelques semaines avant une flambée de violences urbaines.

"Je veux une France qui soit juste, une France qui protège les honnêtes gens, une France qui soit plus sévère vis-à-vis de celui dont la seule idée est d'empoisonner la vie des autres et d'abord celle des habitants des quartiers", a déclaré le chef de l'Etat en présence d'un millier de personnes, dont une bonne moitié venus de banlieues "sensibles". "Les habitants des quartiers sont les premières victimes d'une minorité de voyous", a-t-il ajouté. "Nous allons mettre fin à la loi des bandes, à la loi du silence, à la loi des trafics, en donnant une nouvelle impulsion aux Groupes d'intervention régionaux (GIR)."

Les GIR seront mobilisés "jour et nuit" pour mettre au jour une "économie souterraine qui empoisonne la vie des quartiers", a-t-il expliqué. "La lutte contre les trafiquants de drogue, les mafieux et les voyous va être engagée sans pitié."

"Le calme qui règne dans certains quartiers ne sera pas le calme voulu par les trafiquants" qui "exploitent la pauvreté et la misère" et "détournent du droit chemin des jeunes qui veulent s'en sortir", a insisté Nicolas Sarkozy.

#### RECRUTER DES "VOLONTAIRES CITOYENS" DANS LES QUARTIERS

"Dès demain, c'est une guerre sans merci qui sera engagée à l'endroit des trafics et des trafiquants et j'en assumerai pleinement la responsabilité, les conditions de mise en oeuvre, le suivi des résultats", a-t-il lancé. "Nous sommes décidés à nous doter des moyens nécessaires pour museler cette infime minorité qui complique tout et qui empoisonne tout."

Il a annoncé la création de 200 "unités territoriales des quartiers" qui se consacreront au maintien de l'ordre.

Selon un document de l'Elysée, ces unités "protègeront les habitants des quartiers à tout moment" en assurant une "présence visible et dissuasive sur des points fixes".

Des "compagnies de sécurisation spécialisées" comptant une centaine d'hommes chacune seront créées pour lutter contre les violences urbaines. "Elles assureront un soutien permanent à la police de quartier dans les secteurs et aux périodes les plus sensibles", précise l'Elysée. "La première compagnie verra le jour dès le premier semestre 2008 en Seine-Saint-Denis."

"En trois ans, 4.000 policiers viendront ainsi renforcer la sécurité dans les banlieues, notamment dans les départements les plus marqués par les violences urbaines", a dit Nicolas Sarkozy.

Il a plaidé pour une amélioration des relations entre la police et les habitants des quartiers.

"Je ne veux pas que la défiance continue à servir la loi du silence", a dit le chef de l'Etat, qui a annoncé le recrutement de "réservistes expérimentés" pour remplir les fonctions de "délégués à la cohésion police - population".

"Ils s'appuieront sur des 'volontaires citoyens de la police nationale', c'est-à-dire des habitants dont je veux engager le recrutement pour qu'ils s'impliquent dans la sécurité de leur propre quartier", a-t-il ajouté. "On réduira ainsi les risques d'incompréhension et de malentendu entre les forces de sécurité et la population." /EJ/EP (Emmanuel Jarry et ElizaL Pineau)





**LEAD 1 Banlieues - "Nouvelle politique" sans nouveau financement**

1,007 words

8 February 2008

12:53

Reuters - Les actualités en français

REUTFR

French

(c) Reuters Limited 2008.

PARIS, 8 février (Reuters) - Nicolas Sarkozy a présenté vendredi à l'Elysée une "nouvelle politique" pour les banlieues, qui fait la part belle à la sécurité et à la lutte contre l'oisiveté des jeunes, sans dire comment elle serait financée.

"Nous voulons une politique d'égalité des chances sur l'ensemble du territoire. Nous voulons une France où l'on ne parlera plus de quartiers sensibles mais de quartiers populaires où on retrouvera l'envie d'y vivre", a dit le chef de l'Etat.

"L'Etat ne peut pas réussir seul mais, en même temps, il faut que l'Etat montre l'exemple, et on va mobiliser toutes les bonnes volontés autour de notre objectif, a-t-il ajouté.

Il n'a annoncé qu'une mesure chiffrée : la mobilisation de 500 millions d'euros sur cinq ans pour améliorer les transports publics et désenclaver les quartiers difficiles.

Cette somme sera puisée dans l'enveloppe prévue par le "Grenelle de l'environnement" pour les transports.

Deux ans après les violences urbaines de fin 2005, qu'il a eues à gérer comme ministre de l'Intérieur, Nicolas Sarkozy, en chute libre dans les sondages, a pris le risque de voir surtout retenu de son discours un passage musclé sur la sécurité.

"Nous allons mettre fin à la loi des bandes, à la loi du silence, à la loi des trafics", a lancé le président, qui a promis d'assumer "pleinement la responsabilité" d'une "guerre sans merci" contre les trafics et les trafiquants, ce qui était déjà son leitmotiv quand il était ministre de l'Intérieur.

Les Groupes d'intervention régionaux seront mobilisés "jour et nuit" contre cette "économie souterraine", 200 "unités territoriales des quartiers" se consacreront au maintien de l'ordre et des "compagnies de sécurisation spécialisées" seront créées pour lutter contre les violences urbaines.

"En trois ans, 4.000 policiers viendront ainsi renforcer la sécurité dans les banlieues, notamment dans les départements les plus marqués par les violences urbaines", a dit Nicolas Sarkozy.

Il a également annoncé le recrutement dans les cités d'une sorte de milice locale : des "volontaires citoyens de la police nationale", c'est-à-dire des habitants dont il souhaite qu'ils "s'impliquent dans la sécurité de leur propre quartier".

Cela permettra, selon lui, d'améliorer les relations entre les forces de sécurité et la population.

Il a aussi voulu s'adresser aux jeunes des cités "qui n'ont qu'une seule idée, s'en sortir" et demandent qu'on leur donne les moyens "d'étudier" et de "travailler" - "Ceux qui ne veulent pas travailler ne seront pas aidés", a-t-il averti.

Il a annoncé la création d'une trentaine d'établissements scolaires "d'excellence" dans les quartiers "prioritaires", la généralisation des "écoles de la deuxième chance", 4.000 places d'"internat de réussite éducative", l'expérimentation d'un "contrat d'autonomie" pour offrir un soutien renforcé aux jeunes de moins de 26 ans vivant en zone urbaine sensible ...

#### SOUTIEN A AMARA

L'Etat soutiendra en outre la création de 20.000 entreprises en quatre ans dans les quartiers sensibles.

"Au total (...) c'est plus de 100.000 jeunes que nous allons accompagner vers l'emploi dans les trois prochaines années", a résumé Nicolas Sarkozy.

Un objectif qui reste cependant en deçà des 250.000 jeunes auxquels il avait promis, pendant sa campagne présidentielle, un emploi ou une formation qualifiante.

Le président de la République avait choisi de présenter le "plan banlieue", préparé par la secrétaire d'Etat à la Politique de la Ville, Fadela Amara, sous les ors de la salle des fêtes du palais de l'Elysée, en présence d'un millier de personnes.

Une bonne moitié de l'assistance était venue de quartiers "sensibles", notamment des responsables associatifs, qui se sont mêlés à un contingent d'élus locaux, de chefs d'entreprise,

de sportifs (le judoka David Douillet, le footballeur Basile Boli). L'ancien ministre de la Ville Bernard Tapie était aussi là.

Entouré de Fadela Amara, des ministres de l'Ecologie et du Logement, Jean-Louis Borloo et Christine Boutin, Nicolas Sarkozy a demandé à chaque membre du gouvernement concerné par la vie des quartiers défavorisés de lui présenter un "programme sur trois ans de mobilisation de leurs services".

"Chacun devra présenter avant le mois de juin des objectifs ambitieux de réduction des écarts entre ces quartiers et l'ensemble du territoire", a-t-il expliqué. "Il est venu le temps de redéployer nos administrations."

Objectif : offrir aux habitants des quartiers défavorisés "les mêmes services publics qu'à tous les autres".

De même, Nicolas Sarkozy a souhaité la présence d'un représentant de l'Etat à "temps plein" dans chaque quartier d'ici le 1er septembre.

Christine Boutin devra pour sa part Conclure un nouveau "pacte social" avec les bailleurs sociaux pour améliorer leurs services - "Il n'est pas admissible que des voitures brûlées ne soient pas évacuées avant de longs mois et que les ascenseurs ne soient pas réparés", a dit le président.

En matière de financement, il a demandé au Premier ministre, François Fillon, et à la ministre de l'Intérieur, Michèle Alliot-Marie, de réfléchir avec les élus locaux à une meilleure répartition des dotations de l'Etat aux collectivités locales.

Un projet de réforme devra être préparé "d'ici l'été" pour être introduit dans la loi de finances 2009.

Le chef de l'Etat a rendu un hommage appuyé à Fadela Amara, fondatrice de l'association "Ni putes, ni soumises", venue de la gauche et symbole de sa politique d'ouverture.

"Elle a tout mon soutien, pour ce qu'elle est, pour ce qu'elle va accomplir", a dit Nicolas Sarkozy, qui a promis des mesures d'ici fin 2008 pour que la fonction publique intègre plus largement les enfants issus de l'immigration "à tous les niveaux de responsabilité". /EJ/EP (Emmanuel Jarry, ElizaL Pineau)

**Appendix 2.2.2.3: SECURITY possible source 3 – Official government transcript of Sarkozy's speech**

The following three paragraphs are excerpts from the full transcript of Sarkozy's speech, made on 2 February 2008, published on the website of the CNLE - Conseil national des politiques de lutte contre la pauvreté et l'exclusion sociale (National Committee of policies against poverty and social exclusion).<sup>111</sup>

**Part included in paragraph 5 of the SECURITY report:**

"Mais je veux aller plus loin, en appliquant ce qui a tant réussi dans quelques écoles primaires pionnières, comme celle de la Saulaie à Oullins : les élèves de classes entières sont scolarisés dans d'autres écoles de la même ville pour y découvrir un autre environnement, d'autres camarades, d'autres enseignants. La mixité est une condition de la réforme de la carte scolaire. Je demande par conséquent à tous les inspecteurs d'académie de faire des propositions aux communes pour l'expérimenter aux écoles primaires les plus en difficulté."

**Part included in paragraph 10 of the SECURITY report:**

"Nous aurons réussi le jour où il y aura plus de diversité à Henri IV, mais aussi des classes d'élite dans le collège République à Bobigny, le jour où des établissements privés prestigieux s'implanteront dans les quartiers en difficulté. Certains comme l'Ecole alsacienne sont prêts à le faire. L'Etat doit les y encourager. "

**Part included in the final paragraph of the SECURITY report** (the part of the quote included/translated is underlined):

"Il n'y a pas de place en France pour la polygamie, pour l'excision, pour les mariages forcés, pour le voile à l'école et pour la haine de la France. Car on ne construit rien sur la haine des autres. Derrière la détestation il y a le repli sur soi, le communautarisme et la loi des tribus, celle de la force brutale et systématique."

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<sup>111</sup> The full speech transcript is not included since it is 7,000 words long; a PDF version is available to download from <http://www.cnle.gouv.fr/Discours-de-Nicolas-Sarkozy-Une.html> (accessed 25.08.2015)

### Appendix 2.2.3: Account of THUGORACY possible sources

1. Reuters French report - Banlieues - Sarkozy s'en prend aux "donneurs de leçons",
2. *L'Express* report

The Reuters French report (see Appendix 2.2.3.1) is identified as a likely source for the THUGOCRACY report because the focus of the two reports is the same, the content of a Sarkozy made to police officers, and, as indicated in the lead paragraphs, one quote in particular. With the exception of the quote in the final paragraph of the THUGOCRACY report, which only appears in part in the Reuters French report (in paragraph 13), the original French wording of all of the quotes from the speech in the English report can be identified in the French report.

I was not able to find a full transcript of the speech but the missing part of the quote is included in an article in the French news magazine *L'Express* (see Appendix 2.2.3.2, relevant paragraph underlined). The THUGOCRACY report was published at 12:08, making it possible that the journalist used the *L'Express* article (published at 11:32)<sup>112</sup> as a source.

It is also possible that the journalist was present at the speech and produced the translation from their notes, which might also explain the somewhat unclear translation (as discussed in Appendix 2.3.2, this quote was removed from the original version before using the report in the corpus because it was considered unidiomatic in English). A third possibility is that the missing part of the quote was included in an earlier version of the Reuters French report, which the journalist had access to, and later edited out prior to publication. Evidence in support of this third possibility is the fact that the article published on the *L'Express* website appears to have used the French Reuters report as a source for Sarkozy's quotes. Not only are the majority of the same quotes used reported in the same order, but the quote included in paragraph 5 of both reports is edited in exactly the same way, with suspension points used in two places to indicate that words have been omitted. A similarly edited quote in paragraph 12 of the Reuters French report appears in exactly the same form in paragraph 7 of the *L'Express* article. However, since I cannot find any Reuters report in Factiva which includes the full version of this quote, it is not clear how *L'Express* would have gained access to the earlier version of the Reuters French report, before the second part of the quote was edited out, if this was indeed the case.

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<sup>112</sup> The French Reuters report was published at 10:00am

**Appendix 2.2.3.1: THUGOCRACY possible source 1 – Reuters French report** (Factiva download)



**LEAD 2 Banlieues - Sarkozy s'en prend aux "donneurs de leçons "**

par Gérard Bon

659 words

29 November 2007

10:00

Reuters - Les actualités en français

REUTFR

French

(c) Reuters Limited 2007.

PARIS, 29 novembre (Reuters) - S'en prenant aux "donneurs de leçons", Nicolas Sarkozy a estimé jeudi que les violences en banlieue parisienne ne relevaient pas d'une "crise sociale" mais d'une forme de "voyoucratie."

Il a confirmé, en réponse aux critiques de l'opposition lui reprochant d'avoir négligé la politique de la ville, qu'un plan pour les banlieues serait présenté fin janvier. Mais pas sous la pression des émeutiers, a-t-il dit.

"La réponse aux émeutes, ce n'est pas plus d'argent encore sur le dos du contribuable. La réponse aux émeutes, c'est l'arrestation des émeutiers", a-t-il fait valoir devant 2.000 policiers et gendarmes réunis à La Défense, près de Paris.

"Je réfute toute forme d'angélisme qui vise à trouver en chaque délinquant une victime de la société, en chaque émeute un problème social", a-t-il souligné.

"Ce qui s'est passé à Villiers-le-Bel n'a rien à voir avec une crise sociale, ça a tout à voir avec la voyoucratie (...) Si nous laissons un petit voyou devenir un héros dans sa cité (...) c'est une insulte à la République et à votre travail", a-t-il poursuivi.

Parallèlement à son discours de fermeté, Sarkozy a rappelé les forces de l'ordre au respect d'une éthique irréprochable, insistant sur la nécessaire "relation de confiance" qui devait être établie avec la population.

"Pas de familiarité, de la tenue, respectez les gens, vous devez être exemplaires !", a-t-il lancé devant policiers et gendarmes, en les invitant à éviter le "tutoiement" dont se plaignent des

jeunes des quartiers défavorisés.

## "UNE BANDE D'ENRAGES"

Il a justifié l'ouverture d'une information judiciaire après la mort de deux adolescents lors d'une collision avec une voiture de police à Villiers-le-Bel par le souci de mettre les forces de l'ordre "à l'abri de tout soupçon."

Jugeant qu'un degré dans la violence avait été franchi avec l'usage d'armes de chasse dans le Val d'Oise, le chef de l'Etat a répété que l'arrestation des auteurs des tirs devait être une "priorité absolue."

"Mettez les moyens que vous voulez, ça ne peut rester impuni", a-t-il lancé à l'adresse des ministres concernés, Michèle Alliot-Marie (Intérieur) et Rachida Dati (Justice.)

"Ceux qui cassent, ceux qui brûlent, ceux qui pillent, ceux qui s'en prennent aux forces de l'ordre répondront de leurs actes", a-t-il assuré, s'en prenant aux "donneurs de leçons" qui "ignorent eux ce que c'est d'être en uniforme et face à une bandes d'enragés".

La situation des banlieues est un "enjeu majeur pour notre pays" et fera l'objet d'un plan annoncé en janvier (...) mais que les choses soient claires (...) nous ne le ferons pas parce qu'il y a eu des émeutes".

"Après tout ce qui a été fait et bien fait sur les bâtiments, on va investir sur les gens", a promis Nicolas Sarkozy. "On va faire la différence. On va donner plus à ceux qui veulent s'en sortir honnêtement."

Face aux nouvelles formes de la violence, Nicolas Sarkozy a affirmé qu'il fallait repenser les modes de sécurisation des forces de l'ordre et les doter de moyens technologiques adaptés.

Il a ainsi prôné l'utilisation d'une nouvelle génération de flash-ball à plus longue portée - "quarante mètres, c'est mieux que dix" - précisant qu'il assumerait ce choix devant l'opinion publique.

Dans le même esprit, Nicolas Sarkozy a jugé anormal que la police ne dispose pas d'hélicoptères, en dehors de ceux de la sécurité civile, par exemple lorsqu'il s'agit "de repérer des stocks d'armes sur les toits."/LBR/GB

## Nicolas Sarkozy veut stopper la "vyoucratie"

Par L'EXPRESS.fr et , publié le 29/11/2007 à 11:32

Face aux policiers et aux gendarmes, à La Défense, près de Paris, Nicolas Sarkozy a estimé que "ce qui s'est passé à Villiers-le-Bel n'a rien à voir avec une crise sociale, ça a tout à voir avec la vyoucratie".

Nicolas Sarkozy a déclaré que les violences de ces derniers jours en banlieue parisienne ne relevaient pas d'une "crise sociale" mais d'une forme de "vyoucratie".

"La réponse aux émeutes, ce n'est pas plus d'argent encore sur le dos du contribuable. La réponse aux émeutes, c'est l'arrestation des émeutiers", a fait valoir le chef de l'Etat devant 2.000 policiers et gendarmes réunis à La Défense, près de Paris.

"Je réfute toute forme d'angélisme qui vise à trouver en chaque délinquant une victime de la société, en chaque émeute un problème social", a-t-il souligné.

"Ce qui s'est passé à Villiers-le-Bel n'a rien à voir avec une crise sociale, ça a tout à voir avec la vyoucratie (...) Si nous laissons un petit voyou devenir un héros dans sa cité (...) c'est une insulte à la République et à votre travail", a-t-il poursuivi.

"Ceux qui cassent, ceux qui brûlent, ceux qui pillent, ceux qui s'en prennent aux forces de l'ordre répondront de leurs actes", a-t-il assuré, s'en prenant aux "donneurs de leçons" qui "ignorent eux ce que c'est d'être en uniforme et face à une bande d'enragés".

### **Plan pour les banlieues en janvier**

La situation des banlieues est un "enjeu majeur pour notre pays" et fera l'objet d'un plan annoncé en janvier (...) mais que les choses soient claires (...) nous ne le ferons pas parce qu'il y a eu des émeutes".

"Après tout ce qui a été fait et bien fait sur les bâtiments, on va investir sur les gens", a promis Nicolas Sarkozy.

"On va faire la différence. On va donner plus à ceux qui veulent s'en sortir honnêtement et on va également donner plus à ceux qui ne veulent pas s'en sortir mais dans l'autre sens, (être) plus sévère à l'endroit de celui qui n'a comme seule idée qu'empoisonner la vie des autres", a-t-il expliqué.

Le président avait promis "beaucoup d'argent aux banlieues" pour "sortir les quartiers difficiles de l'engrenage de la violence et de la relégation", dans son projet adressé pendant la campagne électorale aux Français. Présenté comme une urgence après les émeutes de 2005, la mise en oeuvre de ce plan banlieue a été plusieurs fois reportée, le

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<sup>113</sup> Copied and pasted 09.02.2015 from: [http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/nicolas-sarkozy-veut-stopper-la-vyoucratie\\_468293.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/nicolas-sarkozy-veut-stopper-la-vyoucratie_468293.html)



chef de l'Etat n'en reparlant pas le 18 septembre dans son grand discours de rentrée sociale.

Dans l'entourage de la ministre de l'Emploi, on souligne que le plan est piloté, sous supervision de l'Elysée, par Fadela Amara "qui a souhaité passer par une phase de discussions de terrain, pour ne pas plaquer un énième plan alors que des choses marchent bien, comme le contrat de professionnalisation". Depuis septembre, trois tables rondes sur l'emploi dans les quartiers se sont tenues à Bercy, principalement avec des représentants de grandes entreprises privées, et l'ANPE ou des associations.

#### Appendix 2.2.4: Account of DUMMY possible sources

1. Reuters French report A - *Nicolas Sarkozy traite un journaliste de "couillon"*,
2. Reuters French report B - *François Hollande promet de tenir bon*,
3. Reuters French Report C - *Les métallos d'ArcelorMittal refoulés n'iront pas à l'Élysée*,
4. Video of 'dummy' news event<sup>114</sup>

Of all the reports in the corpus, the DUMMY report best illustrates how news events in France, being less newsworthy to a non-French audience, receive less coverage on English-language newswires than French-language newswires. The DUMMY report covers three news events, which are reported on separately in three different French Reuters reports, in one report for a non-French audience. The journalist appears to have used all three French Reuters reports, all published at different times on the same day, as sources.

Sarkozy calling a journalist 'dummy', the main focus of the DUMMY report, is covered in Reuters French report A (see Appendix 2.2.4.1). One indication that report A was used as a source is that paragraphs 6 and 7 of the French report provide the same context (including the same quote) as is provided in paragraphs 10 & 11 of the DUMMY report (that earlier in the day Sarkozy had criticised Hollande for losing his temper). It is possible that the journalist also used the video of Sarkozy calling the journalist a dummy which was published the same day<sup>115</sup> as a source, particularly since the French report describes Sarkozy's physical gesture when making his apology to the journalist in a slightly different way; the DUMMY report describes Sarkozy slapping the journalist on the shoulder (paragraph 5), whereas the French report describes Sarkozy apologising with a hand on the shoulder of the journalist (paragraph 5).

The news event covered in Reuters French report B (see Appendix 2.2.4.2) is comments François Hollande made about Sarkozy in a television interview. Paragraphs 6 and 7 of the DUMMY report paraphrase a quote which is included in full in paragraph 4 of Reuters French report B. While it is possible that the journalist did not use report B as a source at all but watched the televised Hollande interview and translated these quotes directly from the source, it seems unlikely that the journalist would have spent time watching the programme themselves when a colleague has already summarised the interview and published the most newsworthy quotes in a French report.

Reuters French report C (see Appendix 2.2.4.3) covers the strike at the steel mill reported on in paragraphs 8 and 9 of the DUMMY report. The fact that the information detailed in these two paragraphs is the same information detailed in the lead paragraph of French report C is an indication that the French report was used as a source.

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<sup>114</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oRIacIBevBw> (subtitled in French, accessed 06.02.2015)

<sup>115</sup> YouTube states the publication date under the video on its webpage as March 15 2012

**Appendix 2.2.4.1: DUMMY possible source 1 – Reuters French report A (Factiva download)**



**2012- Nicolas Sarkozy traite un journaliste de "couillon "**

311 words

15 March 2012

18:45

Reuters - Les actualités en français

REUTFR

French

(c) Reuters Limited 2012.

SUIPPES, Marne, 15 mars (Reuters) - Nicolas Sarkozy, qui a ironisé jeudi sur la fébrilité présumée de François Hollande, son principal adversaire, s'en est pris à un journaliste qu'il a traité de "couillon" dans un échange mi-amusé mi-irrité sur les heurts survenus lors de la manifestation de salariés d'ArcelorMittal à Paris.

En déplacement dans la Marne, le président-candidat bavardait avec des journalistes sur la campagne, et notamment le candidat socialiste, lorsqu'un jeune journaliste l'a interpellé sur les échauffourées entre des salariés d'ArcelorMittal et les forces de l'ordre qui ont fait usage de gaz lacrymogène, lors d'une manifestation près de son QG de campagne.

"Mais les gaz lacrymogènes, vous vous en seriez bien passé, non? L'image est quand même assez...non?", lui a demandé le jeune homme.

Réponse de Nicolas Sarkozy, énervé: "Qu'est-ce que vous voulez que j'ai à foutre de ce que vous me dites ? Qu'est-ce que vous voulez que je vous dise?"

"Eh couillon, va!", lui alors lancé le chef de l'Etat en souriant, avant d'ajouter "Pardon!, toujours rieur, devant la mine interloquée de certains journalistes, une main sur l'épaule du jeune homme. "Mais parce qu'il est sympa, il est jeune", a-t-il conclu.

Plus tôt dans la journée, Nicolas Sarkozy avait déclaré, sans le citer, à propos de François Hollande : "Dites-moi, j'ai l'impression qu'il y a des candidats qui s'énervent".

"Il n'y a pas besoin de s'énervé, de se tendre, de vouloir être méchant et agressif", a-t-il ajouté, en allusion au meeting du candidat socialiste mercredi soir à Marseille.

(E Louet et Emmanuel Jarry à Suippes, édité par Yves Clarisse)

**Appendix 2.2.4.2: DUMMY possible source 2 – Reuters French report B (Factiva download)**



**2012- François Hollande promet de tenir bon**

738 words

15 March 2012

23:16

Reuters - Les actualités en français

REUTFR

French

(c) Reuters Limited 2012.

\* "Je tiendrai jusqu'au bout", dit le candidat socialiste

\* Il veut être "le plus haut possible" au premier tour

PARIS, 15 mars (Reuters) - François Hollande s'est efforcé jeudi soir de démontrer que des sondages moins favorables et les coups portés par son principal adversaire ne sauraient le faire dévier de son objectif d'aller "jusqu'au bout" de la campagne présidentielle.

Lors de sa dernière grande émission télévisée avant le début de la campagne officielle, le 20 mars, le député de Corrèze a dit sa détermination à tenir sa ligne en appelant au vote utile dès le premier tour, le 22 avril.

"Je tiens bon et si vous voulez tout savoir, je tiendrai jusqu'au bout", a dit le candidat, objet d'attaques nourries de la part de Nicolas Sarkozy qui évoque la fébrilité qui gagne selon lui le camp socialiste. (voir )

"Etre dans l'excès comme nous l'avons vécu depuis cinq ans, avec ses phrases, avec parfois ses vulgarités, j'ai l'impression même que ça le reprend, vous pensez que c'est la meilleure manière de donner une dignité au débat public ?", a-t-il lancé à l'adresse de celui qu'il s'applique à appeler le "candidat sortant".

"L'objectif qui est le mien, c'est d'être au plus haut possible le soir du premier tour parce que c'est ça qui créera la dynamique au second tour", a déclaré François Hollande qui "n'imité personne" et se veut "le plus authentique possible".

Alors que la gauche présente plusieurs candidatures, dont celle de Jean-Luc Mélenchon crédité de plus de 10% des intentions de vote, François Hollande a précisé qu'en cas de qualification, le rassemblement entre les deux tours se ferait autour de son projet.

"Je ne négocierai pas avec quiconque, je ne ferai pas d'ouverture vers ceux qui n'ont pas voté pour moi, ça n'a aucun sens", a-t-il précisé, invitant notamment le candidat centriste François Bayrou à faire "un choix" le moment venu.

Se posant en rassembleur, François Hollande a dit vouloir demander aux Français de lui "donner la force de permettre le redressement du pays, la justice dans l'effort, et la capacité à pouvoir changer l'Europe".

Au cours de cette émission de deux heures et demie, le candidat a précisé plusieurs points de son projet, notamment en matière budgétaire.

Il s'est ainsi dit opposé à toute sanctuarisation des objectifs de réduction des déficits.

#### TRAITÉ EUROPÉEN

"Je ferai bien sûr les économies nécessaires mais en même temps je ne sacrifierai pas les intérêts de notre pays", a-t-il dit, ajoutant qu'il refuserait toute ratification du traité européen de discipline budgétaire européen en l'état.

"Le Parlement ne ratifiera pas un traité qui n'aura pas été complété par un dispositif de croissance", a-t-il affirmé.

En matière fiscale, François Hollande a précisé qu'il n'y aurait pas de plafonnement sur la tranche d'imposition à 75% pour les revenus annuels dépassant un million d'euros qu'il compte créer, contrairement à ce qu'avait laissé entendre Laurent Fabius.

Il a aussi annoncé son intention d'élargir la taxe proposée par Nicolas Sarkozy sur les exilés fiscaux pour la Belgique, la Suisse et le Luxembourg.

Il a prôné l'instauration au parlement d'un débat annuel sur l'immigration économique et précisé sa position sur la fin de vie, prônant "une procédure" - avec l'accord du patient, de sa famille et l'avis de médecins - pour "encadrer" l'euthanasie.

Aux deux-tiers de l'émission, un vif débat l'a opposé à Jean-François Copé, le secrétaire général de l'UMP, qui l'a interpellé sur des sujets sensibles comme la présence française en Afghanistan, le nucléaire et l'immigration.

Les deux hommes se sont affrontés sur divers points, le socialiste accusant l'UMP d'avoir "matraqué les catégories populaires" et augmenté la TVA tandis que le maire de Meaux lui reprochait de vouloir "mettre en l'air la réforme des retraites".

"Vous n'allez pas être jugé sur cette émission. Vous préparez 2017, soyez patient", a ironisé François Hollande à l'adresse du chef de l'UMP, qui ne cache pas ses ambitions présidentielles pour les années à venir.

(ElizaL Pineau et Marine Pennetier, édité par Nicolas Delame)

**Appendix 2.2.4.3: DUMMY possible source 3 – Reuters French report C (Factiva download)**



**2012- François Hollande promet de tenir bon**

738 words

15 March 2012

23:16

Reuters - Les actualités en français

REUTFR

French

(c) Reuters Limited 2012.

\* "Je tiendrai jusqu'au bout", dit le candidat socialiste

\* Il veut être "le plus haut possible" au premier tour

PARIS, 15 mars (Reuters) - François Hollande s'est efforcé jeudi soir de démontrer que des sondages moins favorables et les coups portés par son principal adversaire ne sauraient le faire dévier de son objectif d'aller "jusqu'au bout" de la campagne présidentielle.

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"Etre dans l'excès comme nous l'avons vécu depuis cinq ans, avec ses phrases, avec parfois ses vulgarités, j'ai l'impression même que ça le reprend, vous pensez que c'est la meilleure manière de donner une dignité au débat public ?", a-t-il lancé à l'adresse de celui qu'il s'applique à appeler le "candidat sortant".

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#### TRAITÉ EUROPÉEN

"Je ferai bien sûr les économies nécessaires mais en même temps je ne sacrifierai pas les intérêts de notre pays", a-t-il dit, ajoutant qu'il refuserait toute ratification du traité européen de discipline budgétaire européen en l'état.

"Le Parlement ne ratifiera pas un traité qui n'aura pas été complété par un dispositif de croissance", a-t-il affirmé.

En matière fiscale, François Hollande a précisé qu'il n'y aurait pas de plafonnement sur la tranche d'imposition à 75% pour les revenus annuels dépassant un million d'euros qu'il compte créer, contrairement à ce qu'avait laissé entendre Laurent Fabius.

Il a aussi annoncé son intention d'élargir la taxe proposée par Nicolas Sarkozy sur les exilés fiscaux pour la Belgique, la Suisse et le Luxembourg.

Il a prôné l'instauration au parlement d'un débat annuel sur l'immigration économique et précisé sa position sur la fin de vie, prônant "une procédure" - avec l'accord du patient, de sa famille et l'avis de médecins - pour "encadrer" l'euthanasie.

Aux deux-tiers de l'émission, un vif débat l'a opposé à Jean-François Copé, le secrétaire général de l'UMP, qui l'a interpellé sur des sujets sensibles comme la présence française en Afghanistan, le nucléaire et l'immigration.

Les deux hommes se sont affrontés sur divers points, le socialiste accusant l'UMP d'avoir "matraqué les catégories populaires" et augmenté la TVA tandis que le maire de Meaux lui reprochait de vouloir "mettre en l'air la réforme des retraites".



"Vous n'allez pas être jugé sur cette émission. Vous préparez 2017, soyez patient", a ironisé François Hollande à l'adresse du chef de l'UMP, qui ne cache pas ses ambitions présidentielles pour les années à venir.

(Eliza L. Pineau et Marine Pennetier, édité par Nicolas Delame)

#### Appendix 2.2.5: Account of IMMIGRATION possible sources

1. Reuters French report - Immigration - Sarkozy vante son bilan, la gauche critique
2. Official government transcript of Sarkozy's news conference speech

The Reuters French report identified as a possible source (see Appendix 2.2.5.1) was published a few hours earlier than the IMMIGRATION report and contains a majority of the same quotes from Sarkozy. There are some similarities between the IMMIGRATION report and the French report which clearly indicate a link between the two reports. In paragraph 3 of both reports two parts of Sarkozy's speech, which according to the transcript were uttered a considerable time apart, are combined in the same way:

IMMIGRATION	"Our policy of firmness is paying off," he told a news conference. "France is an open country but it's not a wasteland where you can just set up freely."
Reuters French report	"C'est notre politique de fermeté qui paie (...) La France est un pays ouvert mais pas un terrain vague où l'on s'installe au gré du vent", a-t-il affirmé lors d'une conférence de presse destinée à faire le bilan de son action.

Another indication of a link between the two reports is that the final two paragraphs of both reports contain the same content.

I use the word 'link' deliberately, because rather than the journalist of the IMMIGRATION report having used the French report as a source, it seems the same journalist produced both reports. The IMMIGRATION report is bylined to Gerard Bon in Paris, and although the byline on the French report only gives the location – Paris, in brackets at the end of the report are the initials G.B. The fact that the French Reuters report identified as a source for the THUGOCRACY report is bylined to Gerard Bon suggests that the matching initials are not a coincidence but that Gerard Bon produces reports for both the English and French newswires. This was confirmed by searching for the phrase 'by Gerard Bon' in Reuters' English-language reporting in Factiva, which turned up 693 results. Searching for 'par Gerard Bon' turned up 2,518 results<sup>116</sup>. Despite the fact that the same journalist appears to have produced both reports, the French report can still be regarded as a source for the English, particularly since it was published three hours before, and given the similarities between the two reports detailed above.

Since the IMMIGRATION report was written for an English-speaking audience by the same journalist who reported the same news event for a French-speaking audience in a French report, it would make a particularly interesting case for analysing the kinds of changes agency journalists make in the process of domesticating a foreign news story for a new audience. Since

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<sup>116</sup> Only the first page of results were checked for relevance. 'By' and 'par' were added to the search to try to eliminate irrelevant results. Since the journalist's name is not always preceded by 'by/par', this will have eliminated some results artificially. Search completed 06.02.2015.

it is not the objective of this thesis to provide further evidence of the kinds of transformations which occur alongside translation in global news production, this analysis is not explored here.

It is possible that Gerard Bon, or another Reuters journalist, attended the press conference personally, and that the quotations in the report are sourced from notes taken by the journalist in attendance. Whether or not this is the case, it is possible too that the official government transcript of the press conference was used as a source (see Appendix 2.2.5.2, parts identified as included in the Reuters reports are underlined).

**Appendix 2.2.5.1: IMMIGRATION possible source 1 – Reuters French report** (Factiva download)



**LEAD 1 Immigration - Sarkozy vante son bilan, la gauche critique**

744 words

11 December 2006

12:09

Reuters - Les actualités en français

REUTFR

French

(c) Reuters Limited 2006.

(Actualisé avec réactions Lang, Mrap, associations)

PARIS, 11 décembre (Reuters) - Nicolas Sarkozy estime avoir impulsé une "rupture" dans la politique de l'immigration depuis 2002 mais l'opposition lui a reproché lundi de faire de ce dossier un enjeu électoraliste.

Le ministre de l'Intérieur et candidat à l'élection présidentielle a souhaité la nomination d'un ministre chargé de l'immigration et proposé la négociation d'un traité sur les migrations internationales.

"C'est notre politique de fermeté qui paie (...) La France est un pays ouvert mais pas un terrain vague où l'on s'installe au gré du vent", a-t-il affirmé lors d'une conférence de presse destinée à faire le bilan de son action.

Mais Jack Lang, conseiller spécial de la candidate socialiste Ségolène Royal, a regretté que la droite "transforme une fois de plus la question de l'immigration en fond de commerce électoral".

"Pourquoi ne pas imaginer, plutôt, de réunir autour d'une même table des partis républicains pour jeter (...) les bases d'une charte nationale de l'immigration qui recueillerait ainsi l'assentiment général ?", a-t-il proposé dans un communiqué.

De son côté, le Mrap a exprimé ses "extrêmes réserves" sur la proposition de Nicolas Sarkozy de nommer un ministre chargé de l'immigration.

Le Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples souhaite au contraire que le dossier de l'immigration sorte du ministère de l'Intérieur pour que sa coordination revienne au

Premier ministre, avec "une obligation d'agir" de tous les ministres concernés.

Prenant le contre-pied du ministre de l'Intérieur, qui a réaffirmé sa fermeté, une centaine d'organisations de gauche ont annoncé leur décision de relancer la campagne pour une "régularisation globale et immédiate de tous les sans-papiers en France".

"2005, ANNEE DE RUPTURE"

Elles ont décidé d'interpeller l'ensemble des candidats à l'élection présidentielle de 2007 pour qu'ils se prononcent sur cette "exigence de régularisation".

Un responsable du ministère de l'Intérieur a confirmé lundi à la demande de Nicolas Sarkozy que 250.000 à 300.000 immigrés en situation irrégulière se trouvaient actuellement en France.

Le ministre de l'Intérieur s'est félicité pour sa part d'avoir jeté les bases d'une "immigration choisie et régulée".

"Les chiffres de l'immigration régulière démontrent que 2005 a été une année de rupture", a-t-il dit, soulignant que le nombre des titres de séjour s'établissait à 187.000, soit une baisse de 2,6% par rapport à l'année précédente.

De même, Nicolas Sarkozy a annoncé que 33.000 migrants illégaux avaient été refoulés pendant les 11 premiers mois de l'année 2006 avant leur entrée sur le territoire français et que les reconduites à la frontière avaient "doublé en trois ans, passant de 10.000 en 2002 à 20.000 en 2005".

"C'est une rupture qui est le résultat direct de notre politique de fermeté et de rigueur", a-t-il insisté, affirmant avoir redressé la barre "d'un navire qui était à la dérive".

Le ministre de l'Intérieur a dit miser sur la loi du 24 juillet 2006 sur l'immigration choisie, dont les premiers effets se feront sentir en 2007, après la publication de ses décrets d'application, pour amplifier ces résultats.

Accusé par la gauche de vouloir faire du chiffre à tout prix, Nicolas Sarkozy s'est présenté comme le tenant d'une voie médiane.

"Le débat sur l'immigration a été trop longtemps accaparé par deux idéologies extrêmes, celle de l'immigration zéro et celle de l'ouverture sans limite aux frontières", a-t-il dit.

Evoquant quelques "pistes d'avenir", le président de l'UMP s'est prononcé pour la nomination d'un ministre chargé de l'immigration, comme dans la plupart des autres pays de l'Union.

Ce ministre sera à la tête de toutes les administrations chargées de ce dossier et "responsable des différents volets de la politique de l'immigration".

Réaffirmant son souhaitait de voir adopter un pacte européen sur l'immigration, Nicolas Sarkozy a également prôné l'ouverture des négociations sur un traité sur les migrations internationales.

"Curieusement, les migrations internationales ne font l'objet d'aucune régulation à l'échelle mondiale et sont abandonnées au chaos planétaire", a-t-il expliqué. /GB

**Appendix 2.2.5.2: IMMIGRATION possible source 2 – Official government press conference transcript<sup>117</sup>**

**11.12.2006 - Conférence de presse sur l'immigration**

11 décembre 2006

Intervention de M. Nicolas SARKOZY, Ministre d'Etat, Ministre de l'Intérieur et de l'Aménagement du Territoire, lors de la conférence de presse sur l'immigration, à l'Hôtel de Beauvau

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Merci d'avoir répondu à mon invitation.

J'ai souhaité vous faire part, ce matin, des résultats de la politique d'immigration que j'ai mise en œuvre depuis 2002 et des perspectives de cette action.

Je ferai quelques remarques, avant de répondre à vos questions.

**1. Je reste sidéré par la force des tabous qui dominent la question de l'immigration en France.**

Nous le savons tous : la question des flux migratoires est l'un des enjeux fondamentaux de l'avenir. Les grands mouvements de populations sont devant nous. Chacun garde en mémoire la tragédie des embarquements sauvages sur les côtes africaines. Plus d'un tiers des 900 millions d'Africains vit avec moins d'un dollar par jour ! La moitié de la population de ce continent a moins de 17 ans. Une femme européenne a, en moyenne, 1,5 enfant. Une femme africaine en a 5,2. C'est un potentiel migratoire considérable ! L'un des grands enjeux des années à venir est de redonner à la jeunesse d'Afrique confiance en elle-même et lui faire comprendre qu'il existe un avenir en dehors de l'émigration.

Je le dis franchement : il serait impardonnable de continuer à fermer les yeux sur cette réalité.

Pendant des décennies, celui qui s'aventurait à prononcer le mot « immigration » se voyait taxé d'extrémisme, de populisme, voire de racisme. Entre 1997 et 2002, ce grand enjeu a été totalement occulté, passé sous silence.

En parallèle, l'inquiétude de nos compatriotes face aux carences de l'Etat dans la maîtrise de l'immigration, dont Sangatte fut longtemps le symbole, ne cessait de s'amplifier

Le séisme du 21 avril 2002, j'en ai la certitude, fut le produit direct du sentiment d'abandon ressenti par une partie de la société française. Jamais le fossé n'a été aussi profond entre

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<sup>117</sup> Retrieved 02.09.2015 from: <http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Archives/Archives-de-Nicolas-Sarkozy-2005-2007/Interventions/11.12.2006-Conference-de-presse-sur-l-immigration>

l'approche de l'immigration qui prévaut chez les élites et la sensibilité dominante dans la population française.

Un sondage de la SOFRES publié par Le Monde en décembre 2005 montre que 63% des Français estiment qu'il y a trop d'immigrés en France. 50% des électeurs de gauche le pensent également. Je suis convaincu que l'immense majorité de nos compatriotes ne sont ni racistes ni xénophobes.

Mais la vérité, c'est que beaucoup de Français voient dans l'immigration une menace pour leur sécurité, leur emploi, leur mode de vie, pour la préservation des valeurs auxquelles ils sont attachés, pour l'unité et la cohésion nationales. Il serait totalement irresponsable d'ignorer cette angoisse. Nous avons le devoir d'y apporter une réponse, par la parole et par les actes.

Le débat sur l'immigration a été trop longtemps accaparé par deux idéologies extrêmes : celle de l'immigration zéro et celle de l'ouverture sans limite des frontières.

J'ai toujours rejeté pour ma part le principe d'immigration zéro. Il n'est ni réaliste, ni souhaitable. Appliquer l'immigration zéro reviendrait pas exemple à interdire les mariages mixtes, ou à fermer totalement nos universités aux étudiants étrangers. L'immigration zéro ne se conçoit que dans un régime autarcique. C'est un slogan démagogique, totalement inapplicable dans le monde moderne et pernicieux. Prôner l'immigration zéro, c'est refuser de voir la réalité en face et de s'y confronter. On ne transforme pas la réalité avec des chimères.

Quant à l'idéologie de l'ouverture illimitée, on l'a vue à l'œuvre. Elle était en toile de fond de la politique appliquée de 1997 à 2002 : régularisations massives, ouverture inconditionnelle de l'asile, laxisme généralisé, augmentation massive des flux migratoires en six ans. Elle a produit Sangatte. Elle a favorisé l'exclusion, la ghettoïsation et les phénomènes de révolte et de violence.

## **2. Je pars d'un constat simple : les difficultés ne proviennent pas de l'immigration en soi mais de la manière dont l'immigration s'est déroulée en France depuis quarante ans.**

Depuis plusieurs décennies, la France reçoit des centaines de milliers des migrants chaque année sans se préoccuper sérieusement de leur insertion par le travail, le logement, l'éducation. La fermeture de l'immigration de travail en 1974 a eu un impact catastrophique : les flux se sont poursuivis au même rythme mais dans le cadre du regroupement familial, de l'asile, de l'immigration clandestine et des régularisations. Aujourd'hui encore, l'immigration de travail représente seulement 7% des flux. Ce qui domine, c'est l'immigration de personnes sans qualification, sans emploi, donc sans revenu de travail !

Nous subissons encore les conséquences des politiques de régularisations massives décidées par les gouvernements de gauche en 1981, en 1991 et 1997. Parce qu'elles ont entraîné un appel d'air profond et durable ! La régularisation de 80 000 clandestins en 1997 a donné un grand signal d'ouverture dans le monde entier. Le nombre de demandeurs d'asile est passé de 20 000 en 1997 à 82 000 en 2002 et 2003. Nous connaissons aujourd'hui les ravages de la politique de régularisation massive. La régularisation espagnole de 2005 – près de 600 000 personnes – a précipité dans les bras des filières criminelles des milliers de jeunes africains attirés par les sirènes de la régularisation.



Or, la France n'a pas les moyens d'accueillir tous ceux qui voient en elle un eldorado. Il manque encore à notre pays 500 000 logements sociaux ; le taux de chômage moyen des étrangers en France se situe à 20%. Quant aux personnes originaires de certaines nationalités africaines ou maghrébines, leur taux de chômage atteint 30 à 40% !

Le résultat du renoncement a été la ghettoïsation des populations migrantes, la constitution de 700 "cités sensibles" marquées par l'exclusion, le chômage massif des étrangers, l'essor de l'habitat en squats et taudis insalubres, la délinquance, la violence, la révolte telle qu'elle s'est exprimée en octobre et novembre 2005.

Le décalage entre les flux migratoires et les capacités d'accueil de notre pays a conduit à des situations dramatiques. Je pense bien sûr aux incendies des 25 et 29 août 2005 à Paris qui ont entraîné la mort de 24 personnes originaires d'Afrique, dont de nombreux enfants, logés dans des squats et des taudis.

### **3. Depuis bientôt cinq ans, un travail considérable de remise en ordre a été accompli.**

- Sangatte

Qui ne s'en souvient ? En 2002, le sinistre hangar de Sangatte était devenu, dans toute l'Europe, le symbole du laxisme et de l'irresponsabilité du gouvernement de M. Jospin en matière d'immigration. 2 000 à 3 000 migrants s'y entassaient, dans des conditions indignes de notre pays, avec l'espoir de passer en Grande-Bretagne.

L'une de mes premières décisions de ministre de l'Intérieur a été de fermer ce site en décembre 2002.

L'immigration clandestine dans le Calais se traduit aujourd'hui par la présence d'environ 150 migrants en moyenne, d'après les chiffres des associations qui délivrent des repas. C'est encore trop bien sûr. Mais il faut bien voir que le nombre de migrants illégaux dans cette région a été divisé par 20 ou 30 en quatre ans.

- La réforme de l'asile

En 1997, la France était le septième pays du monde pour le nombre des demandes d'asile. En 2002, elle avait pris la première place en Europe. En 2004, sur cette lancée, nous étions les premiers au monde ! Singulier record !

La loi du 10 décembre 2003 a considérablement assaini la situation. Les délais d'examen des demandes sont passés de plus de deux ans à douze mois. La suppression de l'asile territorial a mis fin à de nombreux abus. La « liste des pays d'origine sûrs » permet de traiter en procédure accélérée les demandeurs venus de pays où les droits de l'homme sont respectés.

Grâce à ces mesures, le nombre total de demandeurs d'asile s'effondre. Il a baissé de près de 10% en 2005 (passant de 57 000 en 2004 à 52 000 en 2005). La diminution est spectaculaire en 2006 : sur les 10 premiers mois de l'année, nous avons enregistré une diminution de 35% !

Cela signifie que les filières d'immigration clandestine et les passeurs, qui conseillaient à leurs victimes de venir en France demander l'asile, ont compris le message que nous leur avons envoyé : la France refuse l'immigration clandestine, la France entend choisir ses flux migratoires.

C'est notre politique de fermeté qui paie. La France se rapproche ainsi des autres grandes démocraties occidentales, en particulier de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Allemagne, qui ont su en quelques années, avant nous, ramener le nombre de leur demandeurs d'asile à un niveau raisonnable.

J'ajoute que nous continuons à rester ouverts, comme c'est tout à fait normal, à l'accueil des réfugiés politiques, persécutés dans leur pays. En 2005, nous en avons accueilli 15 000 : c'est l'honneur de la France que de maintenir une vraie tradition d'asile politique, tout en luttant très fermement contre l'immigration clandestine.

- L'immigration clandestine

La loi du 26 novembre 2003 nous a donné de nouveaux outils :

- le renforcement du pouvoir des maires dans la délivrance des attestations d'accueil, indispensables à l'obtention d'un visa ;
- l'allongement de la durée de la rétention administrative de 12 à 32 jours pour faciliter les reconduites à la frontière ;
- la prise d'empreinte systématique des détenteurs de visas de court séjour – destinée à permettre l'identification des clandestins et leur reconduite qui sera généralisée en 2008.

Ce profond travail de réforme s'est accompagné d'une mobilisation intense, au quotidien, de tous les acteurs de la lutte contre l'immigration illégale. De multiples mesures ponctuelles ont contribué tout autant que les changements législatifs, à faire évoluer notre politique de maîtrise des flux.

Les préfets, les forces de police et de gendarmerie, ont été mobilisés sur la lutte contre l'immigration clandestine. Nous avons sensiblement renforcé les contrôles aux frontières, en particulier à Roissy qui se présentait en 2002 comme une véritable passoire pour l'immigration irrégulière dans toute l'Europe.

Ainsi, sur les 11 premiers mois de l'année 2006, nous avons refoulé pas moins de 33 000 migrants illégaux avant leur entrée sur le territoire français.

Et j'ai fixé, vous le savez, des objectifs chiffrés de reconduites à la frontière aux préfets.

Pour tenir ces objectifs, nous avons effectué un effort considérable pour augmenter le nombre de places dans les centres de rétention administrative, qui passera de 1 000 en juin 2002 à 2 400 en juin 2007.

Nous avons développé sur une vaste échelle les vols groupés permettant de reconduire les migrants en situation illégale dans leur pays : 40 en 2006 contre 17 en 2005. Beaucoup de ces vols groupés ont été organisés en coopération avec nos partenaires européens.

Les reconduites à la frontière de migrants en situation illégale ont doublé en trois ans, passant de 10 000 en 2002 à 20 000 en 2005. Elles vont atteindre 24 000 en 2006 pour la seule métropole. Un effort considérable a été également accompli outre-mer, où le nombre de mesures d'éloignement a doublé en 2006 et devrait dépasser les 22 000.

J'ajoute que l'aide au retour volontaire, qui était au point mort, a été profondément remaniée. Son niveau, jusqu'alors dérisoire, a été fortement accru : 3 500 euros pour un couple, auxquels s'ajoutent 1 000 euros par enfant. Cet effort a permis en un an, de doubler le nombre de ses bénéficiaires : 2 000 personnes en 2006.

Nous avons placé la lutte contre les filières criminelles au cœur de toutes les priorités.

Je le dis clairement : il n'est pas question de tolérer le retour de l'esclavage dans notre pays. Les services de police ont été mobilisés sur la répression de cet odieux trafic. En liaison avec les autorités judiciaires, nous avons multiplié les opérations coups de poing contre les filières: les arrestations de passeurs se sont ainsi fortement accrues en trois ans : de 1 400 en 2003 à plus de 3 200 en 2006.

Une centaine de réseaux ont été ainsi démantelés, bien souvent dans le cadre d'une coopération étroite avec nos partenaires européens. Ainsi, le 28 novembre, la branche française d'une vaste filière d'immigration chinoise a été neutralisée. Ses responsables sont aujourd'hui incarcérés.

De même, la répression contre les employeurs de clandestins s'est fortement intensifiée : 1 300 arrestations en 2003, plus de 2 000 en 2006.

#### **4. Les chiffres de l'immigration régulière démontrent que 2005 a été une année de rupture.**

De 2000 à 2003, le nombre des premiers titres de séjour délivrés, hors Union européenne, s'était accru dans des proportions considérables : de 150 000 à plus de 191 000.

En 2005, le nombre de premiers titres de séjour délivrés s'établit à 187 000, soit une diminution de 2,6%.

C'est une rupture, qui est le résultat direct de notre politique de fermeté et de rigueur. Les mesures prises depuis 2002 ont permis d'envoyer un signal fort aux candidats à l'immigration. La France est un pays ouvert, mais sûrement pas un terrain vague où l'on s'installe au gré du vent. La France exerce son droit de Nation souveraine, en choisissant ceux qu'elle accueille, en exigeant d'eux le respect absolu de ses lois et de ses principes, en condamnant tout dérapage communautaire.

2006 a été une année de transition. Nous n'avons pas encore les chiffres des cartes de séjour, qui ne seront connus qu'au printemps prochain.

Nous avons fait preuve de fermeté, mais aussi d'humanité : la question des familles en situation irrégulière ayant des enfants scolarisés a marqué l'été 2006. Il fallait trouver un compromis entre des exigences humanitaires et la volonté de ne pas transformer l'école républicaine en une gigantesque filière d'immigration clandestine.

Arno Klarsfeld a bien voulu apporter sa contribution décisive dans ce dossier complexe, qui a été réglé par la circulaire du 13 juin 2006, prévoyant la régularisation des familles ayant des attaches fortes avec la France.

6 924 personnes ont été régularisées à ce titre. La parenthèse est refermée.

#### **5. L'année 2007 sera la première année d'application de la loi sur l'immigration choisie et l'intégration.**

La loi du 24 juillet 2006 a défini les instruments d'une profonde transformation de la politique de l'immigration dans notre pays.

- Le regroupement familial a été profondément réformé. Le décret a été publié dimanche.

Un étranger en France voulant faire venir sa famille devra satisfaire à trois conditions fondamentales:

- respecter les principes fondamentaux de la République (laïcité, égalité entre les hommes et les femmes) ;
- être en mesure de subvenir aux besoins de sa famille par les seules ressources de son travail (et non les prestations sociales) ;
- disposer d'un logement adapté à la taille de sa famille, comparable à celui d'une famille française vivant dans la même région.

- Nous avons abrogé le mécanisme de régularisation "de droit" après dix ans de séjour clandestin, parce qu'il encourageait les étrangers à se maintenir dans la clandestinité. Les régularisations seront prononcées sur une base exceptionnelle, aux cas par cas, en fonction de la situation personnelle des migrants
- Nous avons créé la carte de séjour "compétences et talents" de trois ans pour favoriser la venue temporaire en France de scientifiques, de sportifs, d'actifs, dans l'intérêt de la France et celui du développement du pays d'origine. Dans le même temps, nous avons créé le "compte épargne co-développement", ouvert aux migrants, comportant des incitations fiscales pour investir dans leur pays d'origine et contribuer ainsi à y créer des emplois.
- Nous avons assoupli le recrutement de travailleurs étrangers dans certains secteurs et régions qui souffrent d'une pénurie de main d'œuvre chronique, sous certaines conditions.
- Nous avons simplifié les modalités d'accueil et de séjour en France des étudiants étrangers.
- Nous avons, enfin, conditionné l'immigration durable à un véritable effort d'intégration. Pour tout migrant, la signature d'un "contrat d'accueil et d'intégration" devient obligatoire. Elle inclut l'obligation d'apprendre le français, de se conformer aux principes fondamentaux de la République.

C'est à compter de 2007 que les effets de la nouvelle loi se feront sentir. Les décrets d'application ont été préparés en un temps record, ils sont soumis au Conseil d'Etat et pourront donc être publiés dans les toutes premières semaines de 2007.

## 6. Mais beaucoup reste à faire, pour aller plus loin.

J'évoquerai quelques pistes pour l'avenir.

- Tout d'abord, je souhaite la nomination d'un ministre chargé de l'immigration qui sera à la tête de toutes les administrations responsables de ce dossier. Un seul ministre sera responsable des différents volets de la politique de l'immigration: gestion du flux migratoire, de l'asile, de l'accueil et de l'intégration sur le territoire français, de l'éloignement des migrants en situation irrégulière, du co-développement. Le ministre de l'immigration aura notamment la responsabilité de conduire une politique de fermeté résolue dans la lutte contre l'immigration illégale. Et il lui incombera de mettre en œuvre les objectifs définis par la loi de 2006 en matière d'immigration régulière : maîtrise de l'immigration familiale, lutte contre les abus et la fraude, assouplissement des conditions de l'immigration dont notre économie a besoin.
- L'effort accompli au niveau national n'a de sens que s'il est poursuivi à l'échelle de l'Europe. Dans un espace de libre circulation, toute décision prise par un Etat membre a des répercussions chez ses voisins. C'est pourquoi j'ai proposé à mes collègues ministres de l'Intérieur des six grands pays de l'Union européenne, qui accueillent à eux seuls 80% des migrants dans l'espace européen, l'adoption d'un Pacte européen sur l'immigration. Une première esquisse de ce Pacte européen pour l'immigration a été adoptée par le G6.

Les Etats membres de l'Union européenne doivent marcher dans la même direction. Il est essentiel de fonder une politique européenne de l'immigration sur une démarche volontaire des Etats et sur quelques grands principes communs: le refus des régularisations massives; la mise en place d'une frontière extérieure efficace et fiable; une règle commune d'asile et de regroupement familial; le principe d'éloignement des migrants clandestins et d'expulsion des étrangers délinquants sauf protections particulières.

- L'un des grands chantiers des années à venir est la généralisation des accords de gestion concertée des flux migratoires avec les pays d'origine : l'immigration doit être régulée, maîtrisée, organisée dans le cadre du dialogue avec les pays sources, se développer dans le cadre d'un partenariat d'Etat à Etat. J'ai signé le 23 septembre 2006 à Dakar un accord de gestion concertée des flux migratoires avec le Sénégal portant à la fois sur la coopération en matière d'immigration illégale et sur la lutte contre l'immigration clandestine. Mon ambition est d'étendre ce type d'accord bilatéral à l'ensemble des pays sources.

Oui, nous devons bâtir une grande politique de co-développement. Elle consistera à mobiliser le dynamisme, la compétence, l'épargne des migrants en France dans l'intérêt du développement de leur pays. Les transferts de fonds des migrants en France dans leur pays d'origine représentent 8 milliards d'euros. Cette somme est consacrée à 80% à la consommation courante. J'ai la conviction que son utilisation même partielle à des fins d'investissement productif pourrait devenir un levier essentiel du développement. L'autre axe de cette politique consistera à généraliser la politique d'aide aux micro-projet en faveur des migrants de retour dans leur pays, à l'image de l'expérience très positive engagée au Mali (300 projets ont abouti en 2003-2005 et permis de nombreux recrutements).

- J'ai une autre ambition qui peut paraître lointaine, mais répond à un besoin évident. Il me semble urgent d'ouvrir le grand chantier d'un traité sur les migrations internationales. La communauté internationale s'est organisée pour coopérer dans la gestion les grands enjeux planétaires : le développement, la santé, l'environnement, la mer, la sécurité aérienne, l'espace, le droit du travail, etc.). Curieusement, les migrations internationales ne font l'objet d'aucune régulation à l'échelle mondiale et sont abandonnées au chaos planétaire. Le traité international sur les migrations que je propose comporterait des droits et des devoirs pour les Etats et pour les migrants. Une Agence internationale des migrations serait chargée de veiller à l'application du traité.

Mesdames et Messieurs,

Vous l'avez compris, je suis plus que jamais déterminé à transformer la politique d'immigration de notre pays.

Depuis 2002, nous avons redressé la barre d'un navire qui était à la dérive et menaçait de couler.

Je ne regarde pas en arrière. Je regarde l'avenir. J'ai la conviction d'avoir choisi la seule voie possible, celle d'une immigration choisie et régulée.

## **Part 2.3. List of revisions made to the downloaded reports**

A number of adjustments were needed to the versions of the reports downloaded from Factiva in order to make them work as effectively as possible in the focus groups. This involved revisions to the format and paratext (word count etc.) made consistently to all reports, including correcting spelling and minor grammatical issues (presented in Appendix 2.3.1) as well as individual changes to address unidiomatic phrasing in the reports which threatened to impact the data by creating a foreignising effect in the original report (presented in Appendix 2.3.2). I would consider in the future formatting the reports into newspaper style columns; sometimes the participants talked about short paragraphs or the journalist quickly moving from one point to the next, which is perhaps a fair reflection of the style of the reporting, but one which might not have been picked up upon had the reports been presented in newspaper column format (where paragraphs do not appear so short). This did not impact the data directly but the newspaper column format might have created a more natural news reading experience.

### **Appendix 2.3.1: Revisions made to the format/paratext of all reports**

When preparing the Reuters reports for use in the focus groups I made certain adjustments to the formatting and general presentation of the text, as well as to the paratext (i.e. the information relating to the publication of the report, including the time of publication etc.). These adjustments were made in order to make the reports easier to read and to reduce the amount of information which might detract the participants' attention from the content of the news report itself.

Adjustments relating to the paratext:

- Deletion of lead/update text in headline – e.g. UPDATE 3 – Sarkozy defends crime...
- Deletion of Dow Jones logo from header
- Deletion of publication time
- Deletion of word count
- Deletion of language information – i.e. 'English'
- Deletion of 'LBA' text<sup>118</sup>
- Deletion of Reuters copyright text – e.g. '(c) 2012 Reuters Limited'
- Deletion of bracketed update text – e.g. (Updates with opposition, minister's comments)
- Repositioning of location information from first line of text – e.g. BOBIGNY, France, Oct 31 (Reuters) - French Interior... to top left-hand paratext section preceding the reporting

Adjustments relating to the content of the news report:

- Corrected typos
- Changed any US spellings to British spellings
- Changed all font to Arial Unicode MS 10

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<sup>118</sup> I don't know what this means but it appears on each of the reports downloaded from Factiva

### Appendix 2.3.2: Revisions made to deal with particular issues in the individual reports

In addition to the changes presented above, I made some revisions to the wording of the reports themselves where the translation of a quotation or culture-specific term produced a foreignising effect. Foreign language is removed from the THUGOCRACY report on the basis that it is atypical of Reuters current strategy and would therefore impact the data collected in the focus groups which was to be compared for response to the foreignised strategy against response to the current strategy. The other points at which the corpus was revised are those where unusual wording or a literal translation is used; these translations are replaced with a more idiomatic rendering to avoid a foreignising effect in the original Reuters report for the same reason.

#### CRIME POLICIES

##### Revision 1 (paragraph 12):

Downloaded version	"...we want to be received by Mr Villepin"
Revised version	"...we want to meet with Mr Villepin"

**Rationale:** The translation here constitutes a calque, whereby the translator sticks too closely to the original wording to the detriment to the naturalness of expression. In French, one of the meanings of the verb 'recevoir' (literally 'to receive') is 'to host'.

##### Revision 2 (paragraph 17):

Downloaded version	...Sarkozy's recent reference to suburban youths as "riff-raff".
Revised version	... Sarkozy's recent reference to suburban youths as "scum".

**Rationale:** The above is one of three instances of the '*racaille*' quote in the Reuters corpus. Three different translations of the word *racaille* are given, 'riff-raff' (CRIME POLICIES), 'scum' (DUMMY) and 'scum' or 'rabble' (THUGOCRACY). Since the participants were going to be reading all three reports in one sitting, I made the translation consistent by changing the translation to 'scum' in the CRIME POLICIES and THUGOCRACY reports. An inconsistent translation risked causing confusion as well as raising awareness of the role of translation that might not have been prompted by just reading one report with one translation.

#### SECURITY

##### Paragraph 13:

Downloaded version	...his pledge to clean them out with a steamblaster
Revised version	...his pledge to clean them out with an industrial cleaner

**Rationale:** Steamblaster is not a description commonly used for the brand of industrial cleaner; I searched for "steamblaster + Karcher" on Google and the first page of results were all for instances of "steam cleaner". I also searched for the term in all Reuters, AFP and AP reports in the Factiva database, this generated only three results, two of which were from Reuters reports.

The word was felt to have a non-deliberately foreignising effect and was therefore changed to the more common 'industrial cleaner' to avoid the unusual choice of word impacting the data.

## THUGOCRACY

### Revision 1 (paragraph 3):

Downloaded version	"I reject any form of other-worldly naivety..."
Revised version	"I reject any form of idealism..."

**Rationale:** The turn of phrase 'other-worldly naivety' is a translation of 'angélisme' (literally 'angelism' in English). It is felt to be an unusual choice here which has a foreignising effect. It is therefore replaced with the more idiomatic translation, 'idealism', to avoid it impacting the data.

### Revision 2 (paragraph 12):

Downloaded version	"...yet more money on the backs of the tax payers..."
Revised version	"...spending yet more of the tax payers' money"

**Rationale:** The translation in the original Reuters report is a literal rendering of the French ('... plus d'argent encore sur le dos du contribuable...') which results in a foreignising effect in the English. The translation is therefore revised with a more idiomatic translation to avoid the foreignising literal translation impacting the data.

### Revision 3 (paragraph 13):

Downloaded version	...he branded the rioters as "racaille" ("scum" or "rabble")
Revised version	...he branded the rioters "scum"

**Rationale:** Retention of the French word is not typical of the current Reuters strategy. The Reuters *Handbook* instructs journalists to only use foreign language phrases in "exceptional cases, for instance where no generally recognised English equivalent exists". A search of Reuters reports on Factiva turned up only 6 reports which keep the French word. I therefore replaced the French word in the THUGOCRACY report with "scum", the translation used in the DUMMY report and given in brackets in those 6 Reuters reports which leave "racaille" in French. The original wording is however reintroduced into the foreignised version since the journalist's solution here is adopted as part of strategy change 2 (see thesis chapter 6). The word 'as' is also removed since its use is non-grammatical.

### Revision 4 (paragraph 14):

Downloaded version	The "quartiers" or "cites", as the estates are known,...
Revised version	The poor suburbs...

**Rationale:** The retention of these French culture-specific terms is atypical in Reuters' reporting (see section 6.2.1 in the thesis). The French terms are removed from the THUGOCRACY report



on the basis that they are atypically foreignising. The original wording is however reintroduced into the foreignised version since the journalist's solution here is adopted as part of strategy change 1 (see thesis chapter 6).

**Revision 5 (final paragraph):**

Downloaded version	"We'll give more to those who want to get ahead honestly and the ones who don't want to will get more too, but not in the same way," he added.
Revised version	[DELETED]

**Rationale:** The quotation in this final paragraph of the report appears only in part in the corresponding French Reuters report identified as a source. I did manage to find the full version in a report by *L'Express*, however (see Appendix 2.2.3.2). The original French quotation, like the English, is not very clearly worded and seems a bit strange. I therefore removed it from the report entirely as doing so did not impact the remainder of the report in any way and to avoid the strange wording of this quotation impacting the data.

## IMMIGRATION

**Revision 1 (paragraph 3):**

Downloaded version	"...where you can just set up <u>as the wind takes you</u> ."
Revised version	"...where you can just set up <u>freely</u> ."

**Rationale:** While its meaning is recognisable, the expression "as the wind takes you" is not a conventional English expression; it is a literal translation of the French expression used by Sarkozy – "au gré du vent". The effect of the literal translation is felt to be foreignising (albeit non-deliberately so) and it is therefore replaced with a more idiomatic translation to avoid its use impacting the data.

**Revision 2 (paragraph 5):**

Downloaded version	... ensuring the policy was kept up and reinforced while also coordinating all aspects of the dossier.
Revised version	... ensuring immigration policy was kept up and reinforced while also heading up all sections responsible for implementing the policy.

**Rationale:** the original wording seemed unidiomatic, particularly with the use of 'dossier' which is uncommon in English. The text was revised in order to avoid an unidiomatic paraphrased quotation impacting the data.

**Revision 3 (final paragraph):**

Downloaded version	"The international community has <u>got</u> organised to manage major planetary issues," <u>he said</u> . "Strangely, international migration is not subject to any global regulation and is left to planetary chaos," he said.
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Revised version	"The international community has <u>got together</u> to address major planetary issues ... Strangely, international migration is not subject to any global regulation and is left to planetary chaos," he said.
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**Rationale:** the underlined parts are the revised parts. The wording 'got organized to manage...', which seems unidiomatic, is a close translation of the French found in the official transcript of Sarkozy's speech (see Appendix 2.2.5.2) – "La communauté internationale s'est organisée pour coopérer dans la gestion les grands enjeux planétaires". The repetition of 'he said' also seemed unnatural; the first instance, which seems to result from the fact that the rest of Sarkozy's sentence is omitted, was removed and replaced with suspension points to indicate a deletion in the translated quotation (as called for in strategy change 3 – see thesis chapter 6).

## **Part 2.4. The 'original' Reuters reports**

The versions of the reports presented in this section are the versions given to the participants in the ORIGINAL focus groups and are the versions on which the strategy changes are implemented in order to produce the 'foreignised' reports presented in the appendices in part 2.5. They are the versions downloaded from Factiva with the revisions listed above having been made.

### **Appendix 2.4.1: CRIME POLICIES Original report**



#### **Sarkozy defends crime policies after Paris riots**

By Paul Carrel

31 October 2005

Bobigny, France

French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy defended his tough anti-crime policies on Monday after a fourth night of riots in a Paris suburb in which tear gas was fired into a mosque during evening prayers.

Sarkozy vowed to investigate the tear gas incident and repeated his "zero tolerance" policy towards violence that began when two teenagers were electrocuted to death after clambering into a power sub-station while apparently fleeing police.

Overnight youths hurled rocks and set fire to cars in the northeastern Clichy-sous-Bois suburb of the French capital, where many immigrants and poor families live in high-rise housing estates notorious for youth violence.

French television said six police officers were hurt and 11 people arrested in the violence.

"I want these people to be able to live in peace." Sarkozy told reporters as he mingled with local residents outside the Seine-Saint-Denis prefecture in Bobigny, which oversees Clichy-sous-Bois.

"For 30 years the situation has been getting worse in a number of neighbourhoods," he said, honing his theme of the need for a break with past policies that underpins his strategy for 2007 presidential elections.

"I am perfectly aware that it is not in three days or in three months that we will make up for 30 years," he added, pledging to crack down on gangs and drug dealers.

Sarkozy, who made his name by cutting crime figures during a first stint as interior minister from 2002 to 2004, later discussed the unrest with Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin, a potential rival in the 2007 race.

Opposition Socialists said the disturbances were proof Sarkozy's tough policies were failing.

"We need to act at the same time on prevention, repression, education, housing, jobs ... and not play the cowboy," former prime minister Laurent Fabius, who also has presidential ambitions, told Europe 1 radio.

#### FAMILY SPEAKS OUT

Siyakah Traore, whose brother died in the sub-station four days ago, called for an end to the disturbances.

"We want calm, we want justice to be done, we want the riot police to leave and we want to meet with Mr Villepin," he told reporters. Sarkozy had offered to meet the dead youths' parents but it was unclear if the meeting would take place, aides said.

The Clichy riots were the latest in a series of incidents in the northeastern suburbs.

In June, an 11-year-old boy was killed by a stray bullet in the northern area of La Courneuve. The eastern suburb of Vitry-sur-Seine made headlines in 2002 when a 17-year-old girl was set alight by an 18-year-old boy.

Sarkozy, who returned as interior minister in late May, launched a new crime offensive this month, ordering specially trained police to tackle 25 problem neighbourhoods.

"Sarkozy is confusing real firmness with firmness for the television cameras," Socialist spokesman Julien Dray said in comments to be published in Tuesday's Le Parisien.

Sarkozy's shoot-from-the-lip style has outraged the opposition and irritated some cabinet ministers. Equal opportunities minister Azouz Begag has implicitly criticised Sarkozy's recent reference to suburban youths as "scum".

The sociologist acknowledged in Tuesday's Le Parisien he had not been forceful enough when dealing with fellow ministers, but said he would work with Sarkozy to improve matters.

"I won't hide from you that the situation is very tense. It is urgent that we send signals to our fellow citizens in the housing estates that we understand their problems," he said.

#### Appendix 2.4.2: SECURITY Original report



##### **Sarkozy pledges to beef up French suburb security**

By Anna Willard

8 February 2008

Paris

President Nicolas Sarkozy promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a "merciless war" against gangs and drug traffickers in France's poor suburbs, many of which have faced sporadic violence since riots in 2005.

Sarkozy's plan to regenerate the ethnically diverse neighbourhoods of high-rise housing blocks is a response to the weeks of youth violence and scenes of burning cars that made headlines three years ago and have occasionally flared up since.

"We will put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking," Sarkozy told local leaders as he unveiled the plan, which follows proposals by urban policy minister Fadela Amara, a civil rights activist and one of several left-wing figures in the government.

He promised 500 million euros (\$724.6 million) to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the "rapid deghettoization of particularly isolated neighbourhoods", which are often cut off from city centres even though they are geographically close.

He also promised more job opportunities and special training contracts to help young people find employment, and plans to send children to schools in different areas to ensure a good social mix.

Sarkozy unveiled his plan just ahead of municipal elections on March 9 and 16.

His popularity has plummeted since the beginning of the year and his party fears it will pay for this in the polls.

Voters' main concern is a feeling of lost spending power, and they say he has concentrated more on his private life with new wife Carla Bruni, rather than helping them out.

Sarkozy stood beside Amara, the daughter of poor Algerian immigrants and founder of the group "Ni Putes, Ni Soumises" (Neither Whores, Nor Submissives), as he revealed his plan.

He said he would not stand for discrimination and urged the country's elite institutions, such as

the Henri IV high school or the ENA civil servant training school, to be more diverse.

But Sarkozy, who was a hardline interior minister at the time of the 2005 riots, also said the state could not help those living in poverty who were not willing to help themselves.

"Those who don't want to do anything, the state will not do anything for them," he said.

Sarkozy's uncompromising position with the mostly young rioters when he was interior minister and his pledge to clean them out with an industrial cleaner generated deep hostility among many in the suburbs and he has rarely returned.

In January, he made his first visit to an impoverished suburb since he was elected last May and met and talked to several young people.

Sarkozy on Friday continued to take a tough line with those refusing to respect French culture and way of life.

"There is no place in France for polygamy, genital mutilation, arranged marriages, veils in school and hatred of France," he said. (Writing by Anna Willard, editing by Mary Gabriel)

#### Appendix 2.4.3: THUGOCRACY Original report



##### Sarkozy says "thugocracy" behind French riots

By James Mackenzie

29 November 2007

Paris

Riots which hit a Paris suburb this week were the work of a "thugocracy" of criminals and not the result of social deprivation, French President Nicolas Sarkozy said on Thursday.

Sarkozy's remarks came three days after dozens of police were injured in clashes with rioters following the death of two boys in a collision with a police car in the suburb of Villiers-le-Bel, to the north of Paris.

"I reject any form of idealism that wants to see a victim of society in anyone who breaks the law, a social problem in any riot," he said in a speech to police officers.

"What happened in Villiers-le-Bel has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a 'thugocracy'."

This week's unrest reawakened memories of the violence that struck many poor French suburbs in 2005 when rioting youths torched thousands of cars during weeks of clashes with police.

A massive police presence has restored a tense calm to Villiers-le-Bel over the past two nights but traces of the violence, in the form of a burned-out library and car showroom and smashed shop windows and bus shelters, remain.

The 2005 riots, the worst urban violence in France in 40 years, provoked months of agonised debate over the state of the grim housing estates that ring many French cities and the integration of millions of black and North African immigrants.

Many inhabitants of the poor suburbs say the government has failed to address their problems.

"Nothing has changed (since 2005). There's just no work for young people," said Jamila El Kadiri, who attended a silent march in Villiers-le-Bel in honour of the two dead teenagers.

Her daughter Nawel, 18, agreed. "Some of my friends want to quit school because they don't see the point. They think they won't find a job afterwards anyway."

Sarkozy, who struck a similarly uncompromising tone when he was interior minister in 2005, said the answer to the riots did not lie in spending more on improving facilities.

"The response to the riots isn't spending yet more of the tax payers' money. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters," he said.

In 2005 Sarkozy triggered outrage, including among many people unconnected with the unrest, when he branded the rioters "scum".

The poor suburbs are a world away from the prosperous centres of cities like Paris, blighted by high crime and unemployment, poor transport links and run-down housing.

Young people, many the children of immigrants, have frequently hostile relations with police and the courts, whom they often accuse of routine discrimination, but there was little sign of sympathy in the president's speech.

"If a little tough guy can come back after every crime to his housing estate to be welcomed as a hero, it's an insult ... to the republic," Sarkozy said.

(Additional reporting by Kerstin Gehmlich; Editing by Jon Boyle and Sami Aboudi)



#### Appendix 2.4.4: DUMMY Original report



##### France's Sarkozy caught calling journalist "dummy"

15 March 2012

Paris

French President Nicolas Sarkozy was caught on camera calling a journalist a "dummy" during an official visit on Thursday, in an outburst his Socialist election rival Francois Hollande condemned as vulgar and undignified.

Sarkozy has earned a reputation for blunt speaking during his five-year presidency. In the runup to April's first round presidential vote, he appears to have been at pains to shed that image.

But during a visit to Chalons-sur-Marne, east of Paris, he appeared to lose patience with a young journalist when questioned about clashes between police and striking steel workers in the capital on Thursday.

"Do you think I give a damn about what you say? What do you expect me to say?" he says, adding: "What a dummy!"

He then turned back smiling to the journalist and slapped him on the shoulder, apologising for the comment and saying: "He's nice really. He's young."

Socialist candidate Francois Hollande blasted Sarkozy in the wake of the incident accusing him of slipping back into the "excesses" and "vulgarity" that had marked his five-year term.

"Do you think that's the best way to conduct a dignified public debate?" he said on France 2 television.

Some 150 workers from the ArcelorMittal steel mill at Floranges in eastern France gathered outside Sarkozy's campaign headquarters in Paris earlier in the day to protest at the threatened closure of the plant and push for a solution.

The protest turned violent as workers tried to break through a police line, prompting riot police to fire tear gas to put an end to the demonstration.

Sarkozy's comments came only hours after he had himself criticised his rival Hollande for losing his temper, referring to the Socialist candidate's heated campaign speech in Marseilles a

day earlier.

"There's no need to get angry, tense up, to be nasty or aggressive," he told journalists on the sidelines of an earlier visit to a metal factory.

Sarkozy has been dogged by a reputation for inflammatory language since he captured the headlines during his 2007 presidential campaign with a call to rid the Paris suburbs of young "scum".

In 2008 he was caught on camera telling a man at an agricultural fair to "get lost, jerk", a phrase that would haunt him throughout his presidency.

That, combined with his whirlwind romance with model-turned-singer Carla Bruni and his friendships with wealthy businessmen, alienated many voters.

Sarkozy has consistently trailed Hollande in polls of voting intentions, but overtook his arch-rival in the first-round vote in an IFOP poll this week. Second-round polls still show Hollande as the outright winner.

The latest daily rolling poll of voting intentions by IFOP for magazine Paris Match, showed Sarkozy taking 28 percent of the vote in the first round on April 22, against 26.5 percent for Hollande. Hollande would still win in a second-round runoff, with 53.5 percent against 46.5 percent for Sarkozy.

(Reporting by Vicky Buffery; editing by Daniel Flynn)

#### Appendix 2.4.5: IMMIGRATION Original report



##### France's Sarkozy pledges tough immigration line

By Gerard Bon  
11 December 2006  
Paris

French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy called for a special ministry of immigration to be set up as he pledged to pursue a tough line on illegal arrivals.

Sarkozy, the likely right-wing candidate in next year's presidential election, has made a name for himself as a law-and-order hardliner and underlined his approach in a review of immigration policy on Monday.

"Our policy of firmness is paying off," he told a news conference. "France is an open country but it's not a wasteland where you can just set up freely."

The number of expulsions has doubled in three years, he said.

He said he envisaged the proposed new minister being charged with ensuring immigration policy was kept up and reinforced while also heading up all sections responsible for implementing the policy.

"The Minister of Immigration will be responsible for maintaining a resolute policy of firmness in the struggle against illegal immigration," he said.

Sarkozy, whose tough talk is adored and hated in equal measure by French voters, is running neck and neck with Socialist candidate Segolene Royal in opinion polls ahead of next April's ballot.

His hard line on immigration is also seen as an attempt to win over voters who might otherwise pick a far right candidate such as National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Sarkozy said 2005 had been "a break year" with the number of new residence permits granted falling 2.6 percent from the previous year to 187,000 after rising steadily from 150,000 in 2000 to 191,000 in 2003.

He said the number of illegal entrants expelled from France had doubled to some 20,000 in 2005 from 10,000 in 2002.

Sarkozy's comments reflect rising concern in Europe over a sharp rise in illegal immigration from poor countries in Africa, balanced by calls for a more ordered immigration policy.

A law on selected immigration passed in July this year will take effect from 2007 and Sarkozy said it would open the way to a more planned approach. He criticised the approach of previous governments which granted mass amnesties to illegal entrants.

"The immigration debate has for too long been taken over by two extreme ideologies, one which wants zero immigration and one which just wants to open up the frontiers," he said, adding he wanted to see "selected and regulated immigration".

He also called for a European pact on immigration and said he hoped one day to see an international treaty.

"The international community has got together to address major planetary issues. Strangely, international migration is not subject to any global regulation and is left to planetary chaos," he said.

## **Part 2.5. The 'foreignised' Reuters reports**

The 'foreignised' versions of the reports presented in this section are the versions given to the participants in the FOREIGNISED focus groups. They are the 'original' versions with the strategy changes implemented. The individual changes made, and the strategy change each change relates to, can be seen in the appendices in part 2.6.

### **Appendix 2.5.1: CRIME POLICIES Foreignised**



#### **Sarkozy defends crime policies after Paris riots**

By Paul Carrel  
31 October 2005  
Bobigny, France

French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy defended his tough anti-crime policies on Monday after a fourth night of riots in a Paris suburb in which tear gas was fired into a mosque during evening prayers.

Sarkozy vowed to investigate the tear gas incident and repeated his "tolérance zéro (zero tolerance) " policy towards violence that began when two teenagers were electrocuted to death after clambering into a power sub-station while apparently fleeing police.

Overnight youths hurled rocks and set fire to cars in the northeastern banlieue Clichy-sous-Bois, an area on the outskirts of the French capital, where many immigrants and poor families live in high-rise housing estates notorious for youth violence.

French television said six police officers were hurt and 11 people arrested in the violence.

"I want these people to be able to live in peace ..." Sarkozy told reporters as he mingled with local residents outside the Seine-Saint-Denis prefecture in Bobigny, which oversees Clichy-sous-Bois.

"For 30 years the situation has been getting worse in a number of quartiers (neighbourhoods)," he said, honing his theme of the need for a break with past policies that underpins his strategy for 2007 presidential elections.

"I am perfectly aware that it is not in three days or in three months that we will make up for 30 years," he added, pledging to crack down on gangs and drug dealers.

Sarkozy, who made his name by cutting crime figures during a first stint as interior minister from 2002 to 2004, later discussed the unrest with Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin, a potential rival in the 2007 race.

Opposition Socialists said the disturbances were proof Sarkozy's tough policies were failing.

Speaking on the French radio station Europe 1, former prime minister Laurent Fabius, who also has presidential ambitions, said security is a fundamental right and talked of the need to address multiple factors simultaneously, including prevention, repression, education, housing and jobs, adding that government should not "play the cowboy".

#### FAMILY SPEAKS OUT

Siyakah Traore, whose brother died in the sub-station four days ago, called for an end to the disturbances.

"We want calm, we want justice to be done, we want the CRS (riot police) to leave and we want to meet with Mr Villepin," he told reporters. Sarkozy had offered to meet the dead youths' parents but it was unclear if the meeting would take place, aides said.

The Clichy riots were the latest in a series of incidents in the northeastern banlieues.

In June, an 11-year-old boy was killed by a stray bullet in the northern area of La Courneuve. The eastern banlieue of Vitry-sur-Seine made headlines in 2002 when a 17-year-old girl was set alight by an 18-year-old boy.

Sarkozy, who returned as interior minister in late May, launched a new crime offensive this month, ordering specially trained police to tackle 25 problem quartiers.

"Sarkozy is confusing real firmness with firmness for the television cameras," Socialist spokesman Julien Dray said in comments to be published in the French daily Le Parisien on Tuesday.

Sarkozy's shoot-from-the-lip style has outraged the opposition and irritated some cabinet ministers. Equal opportunities minister Azouz Begag has implicitly criticised Sarkozy's recent reference to suburban youths as "racaille", which most closely translates as "scum" or "rabble".

The sociologist acknowledged in Tuesday's Le Parisien he had not been forceful enough when dealing with fellow ministers, but said he would work with Sarkozy to improve matters.

"I won't hide from you that the situation is very tense. It is urgent that we send signals to our fellow citizens in the HLM (social housing estates) that we understand their problems," he said.

## Appendix 2.5.2: SECURITY Foreignised



### Sarkozy pledges to beef up French banlieue security

By Anna Willard

8 February 2008

Paris

President Nicolas Sarkozy promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a "guerre sans merci" (merciless war) against gangs and drug traffickers in France's poor banlieues, residential areas on the outskirts of big cities, many of which have faced sporadic violence since riots in 2005.

Sarkozy's plan to regenerate the ethnically diverse quartiers - as the high-rise estates are known - is a response to the weeks of youth violence and scenes of burning cars that made headlines three years ago and have occasionally flared up since.

"We will put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking, ..." Sarkozy told local leaders at the Elysée Palace as he unveiled the plan, which follows proposals by urban policy minister Fadela Amara, a civil rights activist and one of several left-wing figures in the government.

He promised 500 million euros (\$724.6 million) to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the rapid deghettoization of particularly isolated quartiers, which are often cut off from city centres even though they are geographically close.

He also promised more job opportunities and special training contracts to help young people find employment, and plans to send children to schools in different areas to ensure a good social mix.

Sarkozy unveiled his plan just ahead of municipal elections on March 9 and 16.

His popularity has plummeted since the beginning of the year and his party fears it will pay for this in the polls.

Voters' main concern is a feeling of lost spending power, and they say he has concentrated more on his private life with new wife Carla Bruni, rather than helping them out.

Sarkozy stood beside Amara, the daughter of poor Algerian immigrants and founder of the group "Ni Putes, Ni Soumises" (Neither Whores, Nor Submissives), as he revealed his plan.

He said he would not stand for discrimination and urged the country's elite institutions, such as



the Lycee Henri IV school or the ENA civil servant training school, to be more diverse.

But Sarkozy, who was a hardline interior minister at the time of the 2005 riots, also said the state could not help those living in poverty who were not willing to help themselves.

"Those who don't want to do anything, the state will not do anything for them," he said.

Sarkozy's uncompromising position with the mostly young rioters when he was interior minister and his pledge to "nettoyer au karcher" an estate (clean it out with a Karcher industrial cleaner) generated deep hostility among many in the banlieues and he has rarely returned.

In January, he made his first visit to an impoverished quartier since he was elected last May and met and talked to several young people.

Sarkozy on Friday continued to take a tough line with those refusing to respect French culture and way of life.

"There is no place in France for polygamy, genital mutilation, arranged marriages, veils in school and hatred of France," he said.

(Writing by Anna Willard, editing by Mary Gabriel)

### Appendix 2.5.3: THUGOCRACY Foreignised



#### Sarkozy says thugocracy behind French riots

By James Mackenzie

29 November 2007

Paris

Riots which hit the Paris banlieue this week were the work of a "voyoucratie (thugocracy)" of criminals and not the result of social deprivation, French President Nicolas Sarkozy said on Thursday.

Sarkozy's remarks came three days after dozens of police were injured in clashes with rioters following the death of two boys in a collision with a police car in Villiers-le-Bel, to the north of Paris, one of the high-rise residential areas on the outskirts of the city which make up the Paris banlieue.

"I reject any form of idealism that wants to see a victim of society in anyone who breaks the law, a social problem in any riot," he said in a speech to police officers.

"What happened in Villiers-le-Bel has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a voyoucratie ..."

This week's unrest reawakened memories of the violence that struck many poor French banlieues in 2005 when rioting youths torched thousands of cars during weeks of clashes with police.

A massive police presence has restored a tense calm to Villiers-le-Bel over the past two nights but traces of the violence, in the form of a burned-out library and car showroom and smashed shop windows and bus shelters, remain.

The 2005 riots, the worst urban violence in France in 40 years, provoked months of agonised debate over the state of the grim housing estates that ring many French cities and the integration of millions of black and North African immigrants.

Many inhabitants of the poor banlieues say the government has failed to address their problems.

"Nothing has changed (since 2005). There's just no work for young people," said Jamila El Kadiri, who attended a silent march in Villiers-le-Bel in honour of the two dead teenagers.

Her daughter Nawel, 18, agreed. "Some of my friends want to quit school because they don't see the point. They think they won't find a job afterwards anyway."

Sarkozy, who struck a similarly uncompromising tone when he was interior minister in 2005, said the answer to the riots did not lie in spending more on improving facilities.

"The response to the riots isn't spending yet more of the tax payers' money. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters," he said.

In 2005 Sarkozy triggered outrage, including among many people unconnected with the unrest, when he branded the rioters "racaille" (which most closely translates as "scum" or "rabble").

The "quartiers" or "cités", as the estates are known, are a world away from the prosperous centres of cities like Paris, blighted by high crime and unemployment, poor transport links and run-down housing.

Young people, many the children of immigrants, have frequently hostile relations with police and the courts, whom they often accuse of routine discrimination, but there was little sign of sympathy in the president's speech.

Sarkozy said the possibility of a little "voyou" (thug) coming back to his cité after every crime and being welcomed as a hero was an insult to the republic.

(Additional reporting by Kerstin Gehmlich; Editing by Jon Boyle and Sami Aboudi)

#### Appendix 2.5.4: DUMMY Foreignised



##### France's Sarkozy caught calling journalist dummy

15 March 2012

Paris

French President Nicolas Sarkozy was caught on camera calling a journalist a "couillon" - a French colloquial term similar to "dummy" - during an official visit on Thursday, in an outburst his Socialist election rival Francois Hollande condemned as vulgar and undignified.

Sarkozy has earned a reputation for blunt speaking during his five-year presidency. In the runup to April's first round presidential vote, he appears to have been at pains to shed that image.

But during a visit to Chalons-sur-Marne, east of Paris, he appeared to lose patience with a young journalist when questioned about clashes between police and striking steel workers in the capital on Thursday.

"Do you think I give a damn about what you say? What do you expect me to say?" he says, before calling the journalist "couillon".

He then turned back smiling to the journalist and slapped him on the shoulder, apologising for the comment: "Pardon! ... he's nice really, he's young."

Socialist candidate Francois Hollande blasted Sarkozy in the wake of the incident accusing him of slipping back into the "excesses" and "vulgarity" that had marked his five-year term.

"... do you think that's the best way to conduct a dignified public debate?" he said on France 2 television.

Some 150 workers from the ArcelorMittal steel mill at Floranges in eastern France gathered outside Sarkozy's campaign headquarters in Paris earlier in the day to protest at the threatened closure of the plant and push for a solution.

The protest turned violent as workers tried to break through a police line, prompting riot police to fire tear gas to put an end to the demonstration.

Sarkozy's comments came only hours after he had himself criticised his rival Hollande for losing his temper, referring to the Socialist candidate's heated campaign speech in Marseilles a

day earlier.

"There's no need to get angry, tense up, to be nasty or aggressive," he told journalists on the sidelines of an earlier visit to a metal factory.

Sarkozy has been dogged by a reputation for inflammatory language since he captured the headlines during his 2007 presidential campaign with a call to rid the Paris banlieue - the high-rise residential areas on the outskirts of the city - of "racaille", which most closely translates as "scum" or "rabble".

In 2008 he was caught on camera telling a man at an agricultural fair to "casse-toi pauvre con" (meaning something like "get lost, jerk"), a phrase that would haunt him throughout his presidency.

That, combined with his whirlwind romance with model-turned-singer Carla Bruni and his friendships with wealthy businessmen, alienated many voters.

Sarkozy has consistently trailed Hollande in polls of voting intentions, but overtook his arch-rival in the first-round vote in an IFOP poll this week. Second-round polls still show Hollande as the outright winner.

The latest daily rolling poll of voting intentions by IFOP for magazine Paris Match, showed Sarkozy taking 28 percent of the vote in the first round on April 22, against 26.5 percent for Hollande. Hollande would still win in a second-round runoff, with 53.5 percent against 46.5 percent for Sarkozy.

(Reporting by Vicky Buffery; editing by Daniel Flynn)

#### Appendix 2.5.5: IMMIGRATION Foreignised



##### France's Sarkozy pledges tough immigration line

By Gerard Bon  
11 December 2006  
Paris

French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy called for a special ministry of immigration to be set up as he pledged to pursue a tough line on illegal arrivals.

Sarkozy, the likely right-wing candidate in next year's presidential election, has made a name for himself as a law-and-order hardliner and underlined his approach in a review of immigration policy on Monday.

"Our policy of firmness is paying off ..." he told a French news conference. "France is an open country but not a "terrain vague" (wasteland) where you can just set up freely."

The number of expulsions has doubled in three years, he said.

He said he envisaged the proposed new minister being charged with ensuring immigration policy was kept up and reinforced while also heading up all sections responsible for implementing the policy.

"The Minister of Immigration will be responsible for maintaining a resolute policy of firmness in the struggle against illegal immigration," he said.

Sarkozy, whose tough talk is adored and hated in equal measure by French voters, is running neck and neck with Socialist candidate Segolene Royal in opinion polls ahead of next April's ballot.

His hard line on immigration is also seen as an attempt to win over voters who might otherwise pick a far right candidate such as National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Sarkozy said 2005 had been an "année de rupture (break year)" with the number of new residence permits granted falling 2.6 percent from the previous year to 187,000 after rising steadily from 150,000 in 2000 to 191,000 in 2003.

He said the number of illegal entrants expelled from France had doubled to some 20,000 in 2005 from 10,000 in 2002.

Sarkozy's comments reflect rising concern in Europe over a sharp rise in illegal immigration from poor countries in Africa, balanced by calls for a more ordered immigration policy.

A law on immigration choisie (selected immigration) passed in July this year will take effect from 2007 and Sarkozy said it would open the way to a more planned approach. He criticised the approach of previous governments which granted mass amnesties to illegal entrants.

"The immigration debate has for too long been taken over by two extreme ideologies, one which wants zero immigration and one which just wants to open up the frontiers," he said, adding he wanted to see "immigration choisie et régulée (selected and regulated immigration)".

He also called for a European pact on immigration and said he hoped one day to see an international treaty.

"The international community has got together to address major planetary issues ... Strangely, international migration is not subject to any global regulation and is left to planetary chaos," he said.

## Part 2.6. The 'foreignised' reports with changes tracked and numbered

In this section I present the 'foreignised' reports again, this time with the changes made to the 'original' reports in producing the 'foreignised' version showing using the track changes function in Word. After each change, the relevant strategy change number(s) are inserted in bold square brackets in order to show which strategy change has been implemented. The reader will need to cross-check these numbers with the details of the strategy presented in chapter 6 of the thesis.

### Appendix 2.6.1: CRIME POLICIES foreignised (showing changes)



#### Sarkozy defends crime policies after Paris riots

By Paul Carrel  
31 October 2005  
Bobigny, France

French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy defended his tough anti-crime policies on Monday after a fourth night of riots in a Paris suburb in which tear gas was fired into a mosque during evening prayers.

Sarkozy vowed to investigate the tear gas incident and repeated his "tolérance zéro (zero tolerance) [2c]" policy towards violence that began when two teenagers were electrocuted to death after clambering into a power sub-station while apparently fleeing police.

Overnight youths hurled rocks and set fire to cars in the northeastern banlieue Clichy-sous-Bois, an area on the outskirts [1a] of the French capital, where many immigrants and poor families live in high-rise housing estates notorious for youth violence.

Deleted: suburb

French television said six police officers were hurt and 11 people arrested in the violence.

"I want these people to be able to live in peace ... [3]" Sarkozy told reporters as he mingled with local residents outside the Seine-Saint-Denis prefecture in Bobigny, which oversees Clichy-sous-Bois.

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"For 30 years the situation has been getting worse in a number of quartiers (neighbourhoods) [1a]," he said, honing his theme of the need for a break with past policies that underpins his strategy for 2007 presidential elections.



"I am perfectly aware that it is not in three days or in three months that we will make up for 30 years," he added, pledging to crack down on gangs and drug dealers.

Sarkozy, who made his name by cutting crime figures during a first stint as interior minister from 2002 to 2004, later discussed the unrest with Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin, a potential rival in the 2007 race.

Opposition Socialists said the disturbances were proof Sarkozy's tough policies were failing.

Speaking on the French radio station Europe 1 [5], former prime minister Laurent Fabius, who also has presidential ambitions, said security is a fundamental right and talked of the need to address multiple factors simultaneously, including prevention, repression, education, housing and jobs, adding that government should not "play the cowboy" [4a,b].

**Deleted:** "We need to act at the same time on prevention, repression, education, housing, jobs ... and not play the cowboy,"

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**Deleted:** Europe 1 radio

#### FAMILY SPEAKS OUT

Siyakah Traore, whose brother died in the sub-station four days ago, called for an end to the disturbances.

"We want calm, we want justice to be done, we want the CRS (riot police) [1a] to leave and we want to meet with Mr Villepin," he told reporters. Sarkozy had offered to meet the dead youths' parents but it was unclear if the meeting would take place, aides said.

The Clichy riots were the latest in a series of incidents in the northeastern banlieues [1b].

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In June, an 11-year-old boy was killed by a stray bullet in the northern area of La Courneuve.

The eastern banlieue [1b] of Vitry-sur-Seine made headlines in 2002 when a 17-year-old girl was set alight by an 18-year-old boy.

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Sarkozy, who returned as interior minister in late May, launched a new crime offensive this month, ordering specially trained police to tackle 25 problem quartiers [1b].

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"Sarkozy is confusing real firmness with firmness for the television cameras," Socialist spokesman Julien Dray said in comments to be published in the French daily Le Parisien on Tuesday [5].

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Sarkozy's shoot-from-the-lip style has outraged the opposition and irritated some cabinet ministers. Equal opportunities minister Azouz Begag has implicitly criticised Sarkozy's recent reference to suburban youths as "racaille, which most closely translates as "scum" or "rabble" [2a, e]."

**Deleted:** riff-raff

The sociologist acknowledged in Tuesday's Le Parisien he had not been forceful enough when dealing with fellow ministers, but said he would work with Sarkozy to improve matters.

"I won't hide from you that the situation is very tense. It is urgent that we send signals to our fellow citizens in the HLM (social housing estates) [1a] that we understand their problems," he said.

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## Appendix 2.6.2: SECURITY Foreignised (showing changes)



### Sarkozy pledges to beef up French banlieue [1a, c] security

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By Anna Willard

8 February 2008

Paris

President Nicolas Sarkozy promised an extra 4,000 police to fight a "guerre sans merci (merciless war)" [2a] against gangs and drug traffickers in France's poor banlieues, residential areas on the outskirts of big cities [1a], many of which have faced sporadic violence since riots in 2005.

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Sarkozy's plan to regenerate the ethnically diverse quartiers - as the high-rise estates are known [1a]<sup>119</sup> - is a response to the weeks of youth violence and scenes of burning cars that made headlines three years ago and have occasionally flared up since.

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Deleted: housing blocks

"We will put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking, ... [3]" Sarkozy told local leaders at the Elysée Palace [5] as he unveiled the plan, which follows proposals by urban policy minister Fadela Amara, a civil rights activist and one of several left-wing figures in the government.

He promised 500 million euros (\$724.6 million) to improve transport links with difficult areas to allow the [4a] rapid deghettoization of particularly isolated quartiers [1b], which are often cut off from city centres even though they are geographically close.

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He also promised more job opportunities and special training contracts to help young people find employment, and plans to send children to schools in different areas to ensure a good social mix.

Sarkozy unveiled his plan just ahead of municipal elections on March 9 and 16.

His popularity has plummeted since the beginning of the year and his party fears it will pay for this in the polls.

Voters' main concern is a feeling of lost spending power, and they say he has concentrated more on his private life with new wife Carla Bruni, rather than helping them out.

<sup>119</sup> Wording borrowed from Thugocracy article

Sarkozy stood beside Amara, the daughter of poor Algerian immigrants and founder of the group "Ni Putes, Ni Soumises" (Neither Whores, Nor Submissives), as he revealed his plan.

He said he would not stand for discrimination and urged the country's elite institutions, such as the Lyce Henri IV school [1a] or the ENA civil servant training school, to be more diverse.

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But Sarkozy, who was a hardline interior minister at the time of the 2005 riots, also said the state could not help those living in poverty who were not willing to help themselves.

"Those who don't want to do anything, the state will not do anything for them," he said.

Sarkozy's uncompromising position with the mostly young rioters when he was interior minister and his pledge to "nettoyer au karcher" an estate (clean it out with a Karcher industrial cleaner) [2a/4b] generated deep hostility among many in the banlieues [1b] and he has rarely returned.

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In January, he made his first visit to an impoverished quartier [1b] since he was elected last May and met and talked to several young people.

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Sarkozy on Friday continued to take a tough line with those refusing to respect French culture and way of life.

"There is no place in France for polygamy, genital mutilation, arranged marriages, veils in school and hatred of France," he said.

(Writing by Anna Willard, editing by Mary Gabriel)

### Appendix 2.6.3: THUGOCRACY Foreignised (showing changes)



#### Sarkozy says thugocracy [2f/4c] behind French riots

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By James Mackenzie

29 November 2007

Paris

Riots which hit the Paris banlieue [1a, b] this week were the work of a "voyoucratie (thugocracy) [2a]" of criminals and not the result of social deprivation, French President Nicolas Sarkozy said on Thursday.

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Sarkozy's remarks came three days after dozens of police were injured in clashes with rioters following the death of two boys in a collision with a police car in Villiers-le-Bel, to the north of Paris, one of the high-rise residential areas on the outskirts of the city which make up the Paris banlieue [1b].

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"I reject any form of idealism that wants to see a victim of society in anyone who breaks the law, a social problem in any riot," he said in a speech to police officers.

"What happened in Villiers-le-Bel has nothing to do with a social crisis. It has everything to do with a voyoucratie [2d]...[3]"

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This week's unrest reawakened memories of the violence that struck many poor French banlieues [1b] in 2005 when rioting youths torched thousands of cars during weeks of clashes with police.

A massive police presence has restored a tense calm to Villiers-le-Bel over the past two nights but traces of the violence, in the form of a burned-out library and car showroom and smashed shop windows and bus shelters, remain.

The 2005 riots, the worst urban violence in France in 40 years, provoked months of agonised debate over the state of the grim housing estates that ring many French cities and the integration of millions of black and North African immigrants.

Many inhabitants of the poor banlieues [1b] say the government has failed to address their problems.

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"Nothing has changed (since 2005). There's just no work for young people," said Jamila El

Kadiri, who attended a silent march in Villiers-le-Bel in honour of the two dead teenagers.

Her daughter Nawel, 18, agreed. "Some of my friends want to quit school because they don't see the point. They think they won't find a job afterwards anyway."

Sarkozy, who struck a similarly uncompromising tone when he was interior minister in 2005, said the answer to the riots did not lie in spending more on improving facilities.

"The response to the riots isn't spending yet more of the tax payers' money. The response to the riots is to arrest the rioters," he said.

In 2005 Sarkozy triggered outrage, including among many people unconnected with the unrest, when he branded the rioters "racaille" (which most closely translates as "scum" or "rabble") [2a, e]<sup>120</sup>.

Deleted: scum

The "quartiers" or "cités", as the estates are known, [1a]<sup>121</sup> are a world away from the prosperous centres of cities like Paris, blighted by high crime and unemployment, poor transport links and run-down housing.

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Young people, many the children of immigrants, have frequently hostile relations with police and the courts, whom they often accuse of routine discrimination, but there was little sign of sympathy in the president's speech.

[4a] Sarkozy said the possibility of a little "voyou" (thug) [2a/4b] coming back to his cité [1b] after every crime and being welcomed as a hero was an insult to the republic.

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(Additional reporting by Kerstin Gehmlich; Editing by Jon Boyle and Sami Aboudi)

<sup>120</sup> The change made here builds on the strategy used in the version of the report downloaded from Factiva

<sup>121</sup> The change here reintroduces the wording used in the version of the report downloaded from Factiva. The acute accent is not used in the original version, in a footnote in section 5.3.1 of the thesis I reference an instruction in the AP Stylebook to avoid accents on the basis that they may not read properly in subscribers' computer programmes. The decision was made to use accents in the foreignised reports since not doing so would make it harder for the participants to recognise the use of a French word (cité without the accent becomes the English verb form 'cite' after all). Furthermore, it seems likely that computer programmes would be able to handle accents nowadays (the Stylebook referenced was published in 2000).

#### Appendix 2.6.4: DUMMY Foreignised (showing changes)



##### France's Sarkozy caught calling journalist dummy [2f/4c]

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15 March 2012

Paris

French President Nicolas Sarkozy was caught on camera calling a journalist a "couillon" - a French colloquial term similar to "dummy" - [2a,e,f] during an official visit on Thursday, in an outburst his Socialist election rival Francois Hollande condemned as vulgar and undignified.

Sarkozy has earned a reputation for blunt speaking during his five-year presidency. In the runup to April's first round presidential vote, he appears to have been at pains to shed that image.

But during a visit to Chalons-sur-Marne, east of Paris, he appeared to lose patience with a young journalist when questioned about clashes between police and striking steel workers in the capital on Thursday.

"Do you think I give a damn about what you say? What do you expect me to say?" he says, before calling the journalist "couillon [4a, 2a/4b, 2d]":

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He then turned back smiling to the journalist and slapped him on the shoulder, apologising for the comment: "Pardon! [2b]... [3] he's nice really, he's young."

Socialist candidate Francois Hollande blasted Sarkozy in the wake of the incident accusing him of slipping back into the "excesses" and "vulgarity" that had marked his five-year term.

"... do [3] you think that's the best way to conduct a dignified public debate?" he said on France 2 television.

Some 150 workers from the ArcelorMittal steel mill at Floranges in eastern France gathered outside Sarkozy's campaign headquarters in Paris earlier in the day to protest at the threatened closure of the plant and push for a solution.

The protest turned violent as workers tried to break through a police line, prompting riot police to fire tear gas to put an end to the demonstration.

Sarkozy's comments came only hours after he had himself criticised his rival Hollande for losing his temper, referring to the Socialist candidate's heated campaign speech in Marseilles a

day earlier.

"There's no need to get angry, tense up, to be nasty or aggressive," he told journalists on the sidelines of an earlier visit to a metal factory.

Sarkozy has been dogged by a reputation for inflammatory language since he captured the headlines during his 2007 presidential campaign with a call to rid the Paris banlieue - the high-rise residential areas on the outskirts of the city [1a]<sup>122</sup> - of "racaille", which most closely translates as "scum" or "rabble" [2a, e].

Deleted: suburbs

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In 2008 he was caught on camera telling a man at an agricultural fair to "casse-toi pauvre con" (meaning something like "get lost, jerk") [2a, e], a phrase that would haunt him throughout his presidency.

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That, combined with his whirlwind romance with model-turned-singer Carla Bruni and his friendships with wealthy businessmen, alienated many voters.

Sarkozy has consistently trailed Hollande in polls of voting intentions, but overtook his arch-rival in the first-round vote in an IFOP poll this week. Second-round polls still show Hollande as the outright winner.

The latest daily rolling poll of voting intentions by IFOP for magazine Paris Match, showed Sarkozy taking 28 percent of the vote in the first round on April 22, against 26.5 percent for Hollande. Hollande would still win in a second-round runoff, with 53.5 percent against 46.5 percent for Sarkozy.

(Reporting by Vicky Buffery; editing by Daniel Flynn)

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<sup>122</sup> Wording borrowed from another Reuters report



#### Appendix 2.6.5: IMMIGRATION Foreignised (showing changes)



##### France's Sarkozy pledges tough immigration line

By Gerard Bon  
11 December 2006  
Paris

French Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy called for a special ministry of immigration to be set up as he pledged to pursue a tough line on illegal arrivals.

Sarkozy, the likely right-wing candidate in next year's presidential election, has made a name for himself as a law-and-order hardliner and underlined his approach in a review of immigration policy on Monday.

"Our policy of firmness is paying off ... [31]" he told a French [5] news conference. "France is an open country but not a 'terrain vague' (wasteland) [2b] where you can just set up freely."

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The number of expulsions has doubled in three years, he said.

He said he envisaged the proposed new minister being charged with ensuring immigration policy was kept up and reinforced while also heading up all sections responsible for implementing the policy.

"The Minister of Immigration will be responsible for maintaining a resolute policy of firmness in the struggle against illegal immigration," he said.

Sarkozy, whose tough talk is adored and hated in equal measure by French voters, is running neck and neck with Socialist candidate Segolene Royal in opinion polls ahead of next April's ballot.

His hard line on immigration is also seen as an attempt to win over voters who might otherwise pick a far right candidate such as National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Sarkozy said 2005 had been an "année de rupture (break year)" [2b] with the number of new residence permits granted falling 2.6 percent from the previous year to 187,000 after rising steadily from 150,000 in 2000 to 191,000 in 2003.

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He said the number of illegal entrants expelled from France had doubled to some 20,000 in

2005 from 10,000 in 2002.

Sarkozy's comments reflect rising concern in Europe over a sharp rise in illegal immigration from poor countries in Africa, balanced by calls for a more ordered immigration policy.

A law on immigration choisie (selected immigration) [1a]<sup>123</sup> passed in July this year will take effect from 2007 and Sarkozy said it would open the way to a more planned approach. He criticised the approach of previous governments which granted mass amnesties to illegal entrants.

"The immigration debate has for too long been taken over by two extreme ideologies, one which wants zero immigration and one which just wants to open up the frontiers," he said, adding he wanted to see "immigration choisie et régulée (selected and regulated immigration)" [2c].

He also called for a European pact on immigration and said he hoped one day to see an international treaty.

"The international community has got together to address major planetary issues ... [3] Strangely, international migration is not subject to any global regulation and is left to planetary chaos," he said.

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<sup>123</sup> This is not a generally recognised type of immigration law, it refers specifically to the French law and is therefore treated as a culture-specific term.

### **Part 3. The foreignised strategy in the Reuters *Handbook***

In section 6.1.2 of the thesis I show how the strategy changes revise and add to two sections of advice on translation in the 'foreign language phrases' and 'quotations' entries in the *Style Guide* section of the Reuters *Handbook of Journalism*. Here I show what the resulting *Style Guide* entries would look like in order to give a clearer picture of what the advice on translation would be if the foreignised strategy were to be implemented.

#### **Appendix 3.1: The foreignised version of the foreign language phrases entry**

### **foreign language phrases**

The use of foreign language should be avoided in general but may be helpful when translating culture-specific terms or quotations, as described below.

#### **foreign culture-specific terms**

Consider retaining foreign language where replacing a foreign term with the closest English equivalent would involve losing cultural-specificity important to the reader's understanding. The foreign term does not need inverted commas/quotation marks. Add an explanation/translation in the first instance. Subsequent uses can be left in the original language without repeating the translation/explanation. Where the foreign cultural concept appears in the headline/lead and there is not space to provide explanatory text, use the foreign term rather than generalising with a translation, and add the explanation at the next opportunity.

#### **foreign language quotations**

Consider retaining foreign language in translated quotations in the following cases:

- When using a "broken" quote. A "broken" quote is only needed when the words are contentious, inflammatory or colourful, meaning their translation is likely to be problematic.
- In order to catch distinctions and nuances in important passages of speeches or to convey some of the flavour of the speaker's language.
- If a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis.

Provide the original foreign wording within the quotation marks followed by a translation/explanation in the first instance. Subsequent references to the quote can be left in the original language without repeating the translation/explanation. In cases where it is not possible to accurately/objectively represent the statement in translation, i.e. where the wording does not translate easily into English, consider signalling this to the reader, e.g. 'meaning something like X', or nuancing the representation with two possible renderings, e.g. "which most closely translates as X or X".

Character limitations mean there will likely not be space to include both the original wording and a translation of a foreign language quote in headlines; translate into English and provide the original wording at the next opportunity. NB: Always present translated quotes in headlines as paraphrase (see also 'quotations').

## Appendix 3.2: The foreignised version of the quotations entry

### quotations

Quotes are sacred. Do not alter anything put in quotation marks other than to delete words, and then only if the deletion does not alter the sense of the quote.

Show deletions from a quoted text with three full stops with a space before and after, e.g. He said: "We will win by fair means or foul ... and the devil take the hindmost."

If the words omitted are at the end of a sentence and are followed by another sentence in quotation marks, then the next word is capitalised to show the start of a new sentence. "We will fight and we will win ... We will never surrender." You may drop words in this way only if the deletion does not alter the sense of the quote.

There is a tendency for deletions to be obscured in translated versions of quotes, thus jeopardizing the accuracy of the quote. When translating foreign language quotes as direct speech, be alert to and show (as described above) any deletions from the original utterance in the version of the foreign language quote you are translating as well as any deletions that result from the translation process.

When translating quotes from another language into English, do so in an idiomatic way rather than with pedantic literalness. However, consider retaining some of the original language if a statement is tendentious and likely to be the subject of close analysis (see also 'foreign language phrases').

Avoid excessive use of direct quotes in English when a speaker has spoken in another language.

Be alert to the fact that translating a direct quote in an idiomatic way can involve moving so far from the original wording that the translation effectively becomes a paraphrase of what the speaker has said; in such cases take care to present the speech as paraphrase rather than as a direct quote. If any of the words are contentious, inflammatory or colourful consider retaining those words (along with a translation/explanation in brackets) in the original language as a "broken" quote within the paraphrased quote (see also 'foreign language phrases' and 'broken quotes').

Character limitations in headlines present an additional challenge to accurately directly quoting someone who spoke in a foreign language. Always present translated quotes in headlines as paraphrase; i.e. with no part of the quote between quotation marks (see also 'foreign language phrases').

Where appropriate, signal that the English wording is a translation of words spoken in a foreign language by making direct reference to the foreign context, e.g. 'Speaking on French radio, ...'.

## Part 4. Appendices relating to the focus groups

### Appendix 4.1: The focus group discussion guide

Introduction:

- Thank you
- The research (aim, importance, France/Sarkozy as a case study)
- Format (4 news reports, read one by one then general discussion)
- What is expected from you (no such thing as a wrong answer/stupid question, feel free to disagree)
- Practicalities (2 hours, recording, loo breaks, me taking notes)

(CLA = question clarification, EXP = probe for participant to expand on their response)

Question	Probes	Question purpose
What kind of audience would you say these reports are addressing?	<b>CLA:</b> Would you say they are written for a wide audience or for people from a particular place/with a particular level of education/particular interests? <b>EXP:</b> What makes you say that? <b>EXP:</b> Could you give an example from the text?	Gauging reading ease
What do you like about the way the reports are written, if anything?	<b>CLA:</b> What do you think of the way it is written? <b>EXP:</b> Could you give an example from the text?	Gauging reading ease/acceptability of foreign elements
What do you dislike about the way the reports are written, if anything?	<b>CLA:</b> What do you think of the way it is written? <b>EXP:</b> Could you give an example from the text?	Gauging reading ease/acceptability of foreign elements
What do you know about Reuters, if anything?	<b>CLA:</b> We often have an idea about what to expect from a particular newspaper, which is why we might choose to read one over another, what would you expect from a Reuters news report?	To find out if the participants had any expectations of a Reuters report, in order to gauge how the foreignised versions measured up to this
What information in the reports had you heard before, if any? (GET EVERYONE TO ANSWER)	<b>CLA:</b> These are old news stories, was there anything you knew already?	To assess whether the reports were read with any existing background knowledge which might have impacted the participant's response.
What did you learn from any of the reports that you found particularly interesting?	<b>EXP:</b> What would you say made that particularly interesting?	1) To assess whether any of the foreign elements added have generated extra interest 2) To generate discussion about specific parts of the texts in order to compare response to adapted parts
What, if anything, would you like to find out more about?	<b>EXP:</b> What makes you want to know more about that?	1) To assess the level of interest generated 2) To assess whether the report achieved its goal of giving them all the information they needed to understand the story

What, if anything, did you find difficult to understand?	<p><b>CLA:</b> Were you able to read through everything easily or did you slow up anywhere because you needed to think about it or re-read something?</p> <p><b>EXP:</b> What do you think made that difficult to understand?</p> <p><b>EXP:</b> What would you suggest changing to make it easier to understand?</p> <p><b>EXP:</b> Could you give an example?</p>	Gauging reading ease
None of us here have a particular knowledge about France or French politics; do you think the reports are written at the right level for us as readers?	<p><b>CLA:</b> Do you think that the journalists expect us to know something already?</p> <p><b>EXP:</b> What makes you say that?</p>	Gauging reading ease
What changes would you suggest to make it easier to read?	<b>EXP:</b> Could you give an example?	Gauging reading ease and acceptability of foreign elements
How relevant do you find the news stories for a British reader like yourself?	<b>CLA:</b> Is it a story you'd expect to find in a British newspaper?	Gauging engagement with/awareness of the foreign context
QUESTIONS ADDED DURING PILOT STUDY		
What do you think of the headlines? (GO THROUGH ONE BY ONE)	<p><b>CLA:</b> Would that headline make you want to read on?</p> <p><b>EXP:</b> Why do you say that?</p>	<p>1) To assess the impact of any changes in the headline</p> <p>2) To encourage more focused discussion around the texts</p>
What do you think of the first paragraphs? (GO THROUGH ONE BY ONE)	<p><b>CLA:</b> Would that first paragraph make you want to read on?</p> <p><b>EXP:</b> Why do you say that?</p>	<p>1) To assess the impact of any changes in the lead paragraph</p> <p>2) To encourage more focused discussion around the texts</p>

## INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS



REC Reference Number: REP(EM)/12/13-74

### YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

I would like to invite you to participate in my Arts & Humanities Research Council funded postgraduate research project, ***Reading news from France***.

This information sheet is provided to tell you why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. You should only participate if you want to; before deciding if you would like to take part, please read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

#### What is the aim of this research?

The majority of international news is produced by a handful of global news agencies. The news reports produced by these agencies reach a very wide audience across the globe, in print and, increasingly, online. As so much of what we, as news consumers, read about international events is written by the global news agencies, I am interested in assessing how readers read and respond to their international news reports.

*You will be taking part in the project at the pilot stage; the pilot study is meant to be a trial run to check that the way I am planning to conduct my research is effective. However, if the pilot study proves effective and I do not need to make any changes, it may become part of the main study and be used in my research report<sup>124</sup>.*

#### Who can take part?

To qualify you just need to be a native English speaker living in the UK. However, so that everyone in the group discussion has a similar level of background knowledge, anyone who has studied journalism, who has worked in journalism or a closely related field, who speaks a foreign language beyond G.C.S.E level or who has an above-average knowledge of France and/or French politics cannot participate.

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<sup>124</sup> Paragraph included for pilot study participants only

**What exactly am I being asked to do?**

Taking part will involve participating in a group discussion with me and three other people, who you may or may not know through shared acquaintances. We'll agree on a date and time that is convenient for everyone and arrange to meet at the home of a shared acquaintance (as specified in our email conversation). Before we get started I'll ask you to sign a consent form as confirmation that you've read this information sheet and are happy to take part. Then, when everyone is ready, we'll have a read of four news reports and then have a chat about these as a group. All this will take up to 2 hours depending on how much discussion the news reports generate. I will audio record our discussion as I'll need to transcribe it afterwards to include it in my research report.

**So, what I say will be included in the research report – who is going to read it?**

My report will be read by my two supervisors, two external examiners and any participants (yourself included) who request a copy. I may, in the future publish my research in a journal or book.

**What else do I need to know?**

UK guidelines require researchers to ensure the anonymity of all participants and the confidentiality of any data collected. Your real name will therefore be replaced with a fake name in the research report (and any future publications) and any electronically-stored data will be encrypted. As you will be taking part in a group discussion, the other participants in the group could of course disclose your identity, therefore I am not able to completely guarantee your anonymity and the confidentiality of our discussion.

If you agree to take part in this project I will hold the following information about you:

- Your name, age, gender and occupation
- Your responses to the recruitment questionnaire
- Your contribution to the discussion (audio and transcription)

**What if I change my mind?**

No problem at all, you just need to let me know, and you do not need to give a reason. You can let me know that you no longer want to take part at any point before participating in the group discussion. If, after participating in the group discussion, you decide you would like to withdraw your contribution, you can do so up to the point that the discussion has been transcribed. In case any participants should wish to withdraw, I will wait two weeks before beginning the transcription. Please let me know within two weeks of the date of the discussion if you would like me to withdraw your contribution.



Please note that due to the nature of a group discussion, it may not be possible to withdraw your contribution in its entirety.

**I have a question, who can I ask?**

If you have any questions or require more information at any stage, please contact me, Claire Scammell, using the following contact details:

By email: [Claire.scammell@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:Claire.scammell@kcl.ac.uk)

By phone: 020 7848 3183

By post: Department of Education & Professional Studies, King's College London, Waterloo Bridge Wing, Franklin-Wilkins Building, Waterloo Road, London, SE1 9NH.

**Finally...**

It is very unlikely that you should be harmed in any way as a result of participating in this research, but in case you should there's a system in place to support you, here's what to do:

If this study has harmed you in any way, you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information: Professor Guy Cook, [guy.cook@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:guy.cook@kcl.ac.uk), Department of Education & Professional Studies, King's College London, Waterloo Bridge Wing, Franklin-Wilkins Building, Waterloo Road, London, SE1 9NH.

## CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet.



Title of Study: Reading news from France

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP(EM)/12/13-74

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet please ask the researcher before you decide whether to take part. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Please tick

- I understand that if I decide that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researcher and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my contribution up to the point of transcription (two weeks after the date of the group discussion). ☐
- I consent to the use of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the UK Data Protection Act 1998. ☐
- I consent to my participation in the group discussion being audio recorded. ☐
- I understand that a copy of the research report can be provided to me upon my request once it is complete. ☐

### Participant's Statement:

I \_\_\_\_\_

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed

Date

### Investigator's Statement:

I \_\_\_\_\_

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the participant.

Signed

Date

**Appendix 4.3: Ethical Approval letter**

16<sup>th</sup> July 2013



TO: Claire Scammell

SUBJECT: Full Approval of Ethics Application

Dear Claire,

**REP(EM)/12/13-74 - Reading the news from France**

I am pleased to inform you that the above application has been reviewed by the E&M Research Ethics Panel that FULL APPROVAL is now granted.

Please ensure that you follow all relevant guidance as laid out in the King's College London Guidelines on Good Practice in Academic Research (<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/college/policyzone/index.php?id=247>).

For your information ethical approval is granted until **16/07/18**. If you need approval beyond this point you will need to apply for an extension to approval at least two weeks prior to this explaining why the extension is needed, (please note however that a full re-application will not be necessary unless the protocol has changed). You should also note that if your approval is for one year, you will not be sent a reminder when it is due to lapse.

Ethical approval is required to cover the duration of the research study, up to the conclusion of the research. The conclusion of the research is defined as the final date or event detailed in the study description section of your approved application form (usually the end of data collection when all work with human participants will have been completed), not the completion of data analysis or publication of the results. For projects that only involve the further analysis of pre-existing data, approval must cover any period during which the researcher will be accessing or evaluating individual sensitive and/or un-anonymised records. Note that after the point at which ethical approval for your study is no longer required due to the study being complete (as per the above definitions), you will still need to ensure all research data/records management and storage procedures agreed to as part of your application are adhered to and carried out accordingly.

If you do not start the project within three months of this letter please contact the Research Ethics Office.

Should you wish to make a modification to the project or request an extension to approval you will need approval for this and should follow the guidance relating to modifying approved applications:  
<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/applications/modifications.aspx>

The circumstances where modification requests are required include the addition/removal of participant groups, additions/removal/changes to research methods, asking for additional data from participants, extensions to the ethical approval period. Any proposed modifications should only be carried out once full approval for the modification request has been granted.

Any unforeseen ethical problems arising during the course of the project should be reported to the approving committee/panel. In the event of an untoward event or an adverse reaction a full report must be made to the Chair of the approving committee/review panel within one week of the incident.

Please would you also note that we may, for the purposes of audit, contact you from time to time to ascertain the status of your research.

If you have any query about any aspect of this ethical approval, please contact your panel/committee administrator in the first instance (<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/support/ethics/contact.aspx>). We wish you every success with this work.

Yours sincerely

Rosie Pearson  
Research Support Assistant

## **Part 5. Samples from the focus group transcripts**

The full focus group transcripts are approximately 10-11,000 words each in length; rather than including the full transcripts therefore I have included a sample from each of the six groups. I have presented the samples in their sets, starting with a sample from each of the groups in Set A (appendices 5.1 & 5.2), then from each group in Set B (appendices 5.3 & 5.4), and finally the two groups conducted as the pilot study (appendices 5.5 & 5.6). In keeping with the comparative nature of the analysis, the same part of the focus group is taken as the sample for both groups within a set. However, I have taken the samples for each set from different points in the focus groups in order to give an idea of the progression and format. In Set A, the very start of the focus group is taken as a sample, where the participants discuss the SECURITY report they have just read. In Set B, the next part of the focus groups, when the participants have just read and are discussing the second report (THUGOCRACY) is taken as the sample. In the samples from the pilot study, the groups have read and discussed all four reports and we have reached the point in the focus group where I ask the participants questions from the discussion guide (see appendix 4.1).

### **Part 5.1: sample from ORIGINAL group A (after reading SECURITY report)**

R: I think I remember seeing on the news when they had riots and nights of violence, as a vague memory

Me: is this in keeping with what you remember?

R: I suppose all I remember is just seeing that there were riots going on in the same way we'd had riots in London

L: I just don't get how what he is talking about is necessarily going to stop youth violence, he's kind of going I'm going to spend loads on making it easier for them to get in and out of the city centre

G: I guess that's not being bored and having stuff to do

L: I just don't quite get why you'd spend 500 million euros on making sure neighbourhoods could mix with each other, surely it would just be better to spend the money on improving the neighbourhood itself, so they actually have something to do within their own communities because if you increase transport links they're going to have to spend money to get everywhere and if they have no jobs and they have no money then how is, oh there's that brilliant motorway that you can get the bus on and it's like well I haven't got money for the bus, maybe I'm just being a bit naïve but

G: I guess you could say that people can't get jobs outside that area because they haven't got the means to travel, so they can't work

L: yeah, maybe

R: the bit at the end seemed completely different to everything else that had been talked about, the fact that he's taking a tough line with those refusing to respect French culture, I have

certainly heard again that they have bNd all religious head gear in all French schools and universities maybe? But that didn't seem to have anything to do with the rest of the article

L: yeah, I agree, it doesn't seem to have anything to do with the rest of the article

R: because it wasn't saying this was a religious thing or an immigrant issue or anything, it was saying about gangs and low income neighbourhoods

L: are we supposed to extrapolate from this statement that he's saying these things are helping to contribute towards the youth violence and all the burning cars and the flare ups and things or is it just something he's said sort of thrown in the article because it's inflammatory

C: I think I remember a few things ago about the head gear, I do remember something about that

L: I remember them saying you couldn't wear head gear and stuff but I don't remember the riots particularly

C: No I have to say I don't either

L: but there's always violence on the news so

C: you do get to that point don't you, you think oh, there's a lot of violence

R: it could be anywhere, it could be Athens

L: it's not 3 years ago, it's 3 years ago from 2008, so it's 2005, we're talking 8 years ago, I'm not going to remember it from 8 years ago but I do remember they said you couldn't wear crosses as well, any religious symbols [continues to talk about a 'hoo-ha' here about nurses wearing crosses and praying with patients] but the other thing as well that's quite interesting is him talking about, he wouldn't stand for discrimination in elite institutions and wants the schools to be more diverse and wants, it says somewhere about, erm, he wants the kids to go to schools in different areas to ensure a good social mix, have they actually implemented that? That just seems a bit bizarre to send kids, potentially really young children, to say oh well you've got a 45 minute journey to school but your next door neighbour only has a 10 minute walk, that's going to have a big impact on quality of life, yes you might have a better mix but from a practical point of view are your kids going to be able to play with their friends they go to school with? Because you live in completely different parts of a city, that's going to have an impact on those individuals, to me this sounds as though it is very, his approach is very like he's not thinking about individuals, he's thinking about the whole bigger picture and if I do this it'll impact upon the whole but I think a lot of issues boil down to individuals and you need to look at individual factors and make it work for individuals rather than going oh well we'll do this sweeping thing, we'll sort out transport and then everyone will be fine because then they can't use the excuse that they can't get to their job or whatever

R: and is it just because he wants to come up with something quickly before there's an election

C: it's also interesting how it said how his voters were losing, the concern... they thought that he was concentrating on his wife and not on helping them out

G: I do remember the press saying that quite a lot actually

C: I do too

L: was she a model or something?

[agreement]

R: so is he just coming up with some radical, not that well-thought-through plan to win over voters in a short term way rather than thinking actually what is the long-term regeneration that this needs to sort it out

L: I wonder where the money is coming from, you can't just put 500 million euros, that's the only defined figure in here, he's talking about spending money on the police too, where's he finding the money for these police? Where's he finding the money for improved transport? Where's the money come from? That's what I'd want to know, because you only have so much, there's got to be cuts from somewhere haven't there, and also, the voters' main concern, is that from a poll, that's just a wishy washy statement that somebody could have decided, we've asked 10 people on the street, is that fact? Is that fiction?

R: I got the impression that Sarkozy was more of a right-wing politician and it says that he's following a plan by this civil rights activist and a left-wing figure, so is it her idea to do all of these things rather than his then and he's just jumped on the band wagon

L: well that bit there is talking about we'll put an end to the law of gangs, silence and trafficking, so is that actually something different to youth violence and unemployment and...

C: I suppose gangs are going to come from these violence and unemployment

G: it's sort of anti-social behaviour is what he's saying he wants to tackle

L: this whole thing just feels quite disjointed

Me: the article you mean?

L: yeah

Me: so what do you think it is about then? You've picked out a few different things actually, if you had to sum it up what would you say?

L: it's basically his stance for the election isn't it... to me it's reading as, this is what he's come out and said he's wants to do before the election to try and bolster votes, I don't know about anyone else, but that's how I read it

G: well that but specifically on the concern of anti-social behaviour and crime

C: yeah

**Appendix 5.2: Sample from FOREIGNISED group A (after reading SECURITY report)**

Me: Any immediate thoughts or comments?

L: I think Sarkozy sounds quite good in this... at the beginning

J: Although he turns a little bit at the end [agreement from L & A]

L: but from my very limited knowledge of French politics – from watching the news once a fortnight – he is coming across in this as someone who actually cares, that's something that I've never got really from the TV before

J: but then it changes...

L: yeah

J: because then it says he unveiled his plan just ahead of the elections, and then there's all that stuff on the back that makes him sound quite anti-immigrant identity really

L: yeah

J: Sarkozy continued to take a tough line with those refusing to respect French culture

L: but he says it stood next to a small Algerian immigrant family

J: but that sounds like some kind of kissing babies in front of the national press kind of thing [laughter] it says there's no place in France for [omission] arranged marriages, veils in school and hatred of France, and putting that in with female genital mutilation, polygamy and things

A: Yeah, and to put that as the ending statement, I don't know, that kind of makes me think, 'oh, so you don't really mean what you're saying necessarily', the areas he's talking about must probably be areas where a lot of immigrant people are living, if they're sort of less desirable areas, so then to say that at the end is a bit narrow-minded

J: I suppose the piece doesn't really give an opinion on him, it's just presenting ideas and facts, it starts off with saying what he's suggested he'll do

B: Yeah, it also starts off with a focus on gangs, silence and trafficking and then sort of immigration, and that's three separate subjects

J: true and it's linking them together a little bit

B: yeah so it's quite suggestive

Me: what in particular L made you have a good impression?

L: Well the first, paragraphs one to five, sound very positive and sound very 'I've been here and I know what the problems are, I'm going to make it better for you', but then on the back we see what he's done in the past where he's going to deep clean with an industrial cleaner all of you guys, so I think probably that went down like a ton of bricks, and he's like 'uh oh, I'd better turn this around so I'm going to make some bold statements to make them love me again

J: I think my worry, is it's dressing things up scarily and leaving stuff out about progressive social policies [unclear] because all of this, so between the lines sending children to schools in different areas, because I know in the UK we've got dispersal for asylum seekers and that's not a great way of managing things if you're going to go into a community and fragment it and send it to different areas that's not necessarily a good way to get an integrated society, I don't know, it would be interesting to see how it would actually work and who would come off well out of it and how the community themselves would feel about having that suggested to them

Me: so did you find it interesting to read, did you like reading it?



L: I felt positive at the beginning and angry at the end

Me: and were you familiar with any of the information before?

J & A: No [laugh as if embarrassed]

B: I was familiar with the actual riots, and, er, apart from that the fact that the French are very proud of their culture, especially their language, it makes a nod to that

Me: where did you find that?

B: just in paragraph 15 with the respect of French culture

Me: was there anything about their language in particular or is that just your knowledge?

B: No, that's just my knowledge

Me: so how about anyone else, did you find it interesting?

J: I found it easy to read, it didn't try to put across too many points, it wasn't too in depth, it didn't feel like wading through a text book, it was short it wasn't inflaming you, it wasn't being too aggressive or too tabloidy, so I felt informed by it, but interesting? Yeah, it's something I didn't know about and it got me thinking, so yeah

Me: does everyone feel the same way?

A: Yeah, I mean it makes quite clear individual points, like I said earlier, some of them contradict each other a bit, but if you're reading it and going through it you can kind of pick out the individual points that they're putting across and take them on board

B: I think it's fairly balanced compared to some of the media we have

A: yeah

Me: What about you L, would you agree that it is balanced, because you had different emotions

L: Well, I don't know, balance in that it was very much up and down, so eventually there would be some balance, but the first five, I was like, 'who's this Sarkozy guy? He's not the guy I read about in the paper' and then I turn over and 'oh, yeah, there he is, wow, I didn't know he was that bad'. So balanced in that it was very positive and then very negative but

J: I think it let you make up your own mind but I like reading things that just present the facts and don't try to send me one way or another

L: I'm a sensationalist [laughter]

**Appendix 5.3: Sample from ORIGINAL group B (after reading THUGOCRACY report)**

K: I think it just seems to paint him as this no nonsense guy basically, in the last paragraph he seems to be saying he thinks they have no place in the Republic

Me: who's he?

K: Sarkozy, if a little tough guy can come back after every crime to his housing estate to be welcomed as a hero, it's an insult to the republic, so he's basically saying these people don't have a place here if this is how they respond to justice and that system

L: it's just very negative, I was reading it and... it's just really negative, like scum, and thugocracy and burnt out libraries and smashed shop windows, it's painting a picture of like a third world country when it's really not and he doesn't I don't think he seems to have any ideas about social issues at all when his answer is just lock them up, essentially just lock them up and that's not the answer

I: it's almost like he's provoking them, like he's asking them out for a fight, when he branded the rioters scum, it's almost like a bully isn't it

L: it's very emotive

I: he's like you're nothing but scum, it's very aggressive

J: it's a very aggressive tone

I: yeah, I've even put, when I was reading paragraph 15, it says young people, many the children of *immigrants* [adds emphasis] have frequently hostile relations with police, I actually highlighted – Sarkozy is racist, question mark, because he doesn't want to solve the problem does he, he doesn't seem to be looking for a solution, it's just, oh, arrest them

J: lock em up, turf em out

K: it also highlights that he hasn't solved the problem either because it happened in 2005 and it has happened again, his way hasn't worked

L: everything he has promised, all the waffle, nothing has materialised

K: and the people themselves are saying nothing has changed, my friends don't want to go to school because they know when they finish they won't get a job

I: this article, I'm reading it like, the person who has written it – James Mackenzie, for me, he's trying to make me think, I think, that the reason that he hasn't solved the problem is because the people living in these estates are immigrants, that sort of people, that's how I'm reading it

L: I think it's clear James Mackenzie doesn't like him

I: yeah

K: he certainly doesn't give much time to the details, the two boys who were killed, in one line

L: it's essentially just like this guy's a bit of an idiot really [laughs], he hasn't really got much time for him

I: the answer to the riots did not lie in spending more on improving facilities, the answer is just to lock em up, any sane human being would know locking them up is not going to solve the problem is it

L: it's a rather naïve thing to say – lock em up, it's like on the other one, well if you don't want help we won't give it to you, well, some people don't like to ask

K: to be fair the journalist does say a few things in the poorer elements favour, he says the poor suburbs are a world away from the prosperous centres of cities like Paris, blighted by high crime and unemployment, poor transport links and run-down housing, so he does balance it sort of

Me: sorry, you're saying that balances it in what way?

K: he's not entirely saying that he agrees with Sarkozy, he's not entirely falling down on Sarkozy's side, he's also balancing his argument and telling us that these people do have real problems

I: yeah but Sarkozy is not addressing them, that's what the article is saying, there are real problems [agreement]

J: if he made an attempt to address those problems perhaps some of the riots that are there wouldn't be happening, he's saying lock em up, get rid of them and if he just addressed the problems perhaps they wouldn't happen in the first place

I: that's why they've happened for a second time

**Appendix 5.4: Sample from FOREIGNISED group B (after reading THUGOCRACY report)**

L: it's the same the world over

D: you can see it in any country can't you

L: it all seems to be over a similar type of thing doesn't it really

D: it's talking about immigration

L: immigrants coming in and they think taking the jobs

D: I don't think that's the case really though, they're coming to France and probably with nothing, and where do they live, obviously in the run down areas surrounding the city because they can't afford

J: because it's cheaper

D: they can't afford

L: and you get the impression, do they actually want to work or do they just want to live there and feed off the state

D: I'm sure there are some... I think it's a minority that expect help and some people are prepared to start

L: but do you think it's the minority that come in or the majority, sadly I think it's the youngsters that are suffering really

D: it's the youngsters I think that are more likely to cause the problems, well some of them have been brought in by their parents, they're growing up here

J: but some of them are quite demoralised anyway, they want to leave school because they think there is no hope for them anyway, that's what they've been brought up to believe, there are no opportunities

L: but it's the same over here, it's not just in France

J: it's quite demoralising, they're working really hard but they're not going to achieve anything, especially under this government, because he just sees the poor people as a bit of a thorn in his side, he doesn't want to help them

Me: where do you see that in this one? I think we touched on that in the last one

J: I'm just referring to paragraph 10 when the daughter says some of my friends want to quit school because they don't see the point. They think they won't find a job afterwards anyway, and he seems to be quite hostile doesn't he towards a lot of the people, the young people and the children of immigrants

Me: probe for an example

J: yeah, 15 Young people, many the children of immigrants, have frequently hostile relations with police and the courts, whom they often accuse of routine discrimination so they're stopping people without, because they come from that area

L: they're being labelled before they've been given a chance

J: I think everybody deserves a chance don't they. He seems to be willing to put money in to help certain people in certain areas but he doesn't seem to want to help people that really need the help, unless it's election time, so he can keep his position of power. It's a lot of talk isn't it, he talks about what he's going to do but he's not really addressing the issue

D: the way he would address the issue is sending more police in isn't it

J: the heavy-handed take, he doesn't go into the areas and he's not finding out why they are rioting

L: I think a lot of it is down to frustration isn't it

J: something must trigger it off initially mustn't it, but anyone who happens to be there is just caught up and even when those children died, there wasn't really any mention of their families or what they'd been through

Me: does everyone remember the riots?

L: yeah, I can't believe it was as long ago as 2005

J: I don't remember a lot about it

Me: so, whether you knew about the riots or not, was the information in these reports surprising?

L: I thought it was about this sort of thing, I don't think it is surprising

D: I don't think it is surprising at all

C: it's quite interesting though isn't it, it puts it down what a lot of us think really

Me: what do you mean?

C: well, sending in the police

J: well he's saying in paragraph 1 that it's not the result of social deprivation

D: well it is though isn't it

J: as if they're doing it because they've got nothing better to do

D: well it's been building for such a long time that it just boiled over

J: the potential is there isn't it

L: well there's not the jobs for their own people

D: it was the death of the two boys wasn't it that sparked the rioting, but it's saying in paragraph 3, I reject any form of idealism

J: well it took him 3 days to, 3 days after the event, in paragraph 2, he made his remarks, it just seems like a long time doesn't it, 3 days afterwards to address what has happened

D: I don't know, don't they go away and think about things? I don't think 3 days is really, I think he was waiting to see what reaction there would be

L: I think the situation is do people want to work or do they want it easy, there's probably not enough jobs in France for people, these other people are coming in and getting them, maybe they're prepared to work for less, I don't know, it's a bit like over here

J: we have a similar situation

L: exactly, we have a similar situation over here

J: Polish people

L: and they're prepared to accept less money and work longer hours, it's a very difficult situation, and then our people get upset and cross because there isn't the job available for them, it's exactly the same situation over there isn't it

Me: I ask them to point out where the immigration link is

D: I think it's just where it says agonised debate over the state of the grim housing estates that ring many French cities and the integration of millions of black and North African immigrants, I think none of us have got enough jobs to go around

L: exactly, and when you think about the size of France compared England and the population of France compared to the population of England, there's a huge difference

**Appendix 5.5: Sample from ORIGINAL pilot group** (after reading/discussing all 4 reports)

Me: Okay, so we think that maybe there's a bit of a lean in them. Do you like the way they're written? Do you like reading them? [silence] I mean, someone said one of them was a bit like a celeb article

C: yeah I feel like D is

N: I think C probably I found it the easiest to read as far as the form goes, there seemed to be quite a flow and it was quite well rounded as an article, if that makes sense

S: each paragraph kind of lead on a bit more to the next

Me: do you think if you were to see a Reuters news report now you'd read it? Do you think you'd enjoy reading reports written in this way?

C: they are not huge articles, I do get something out of all of them, I learn something in all of them, you get a little snapshot, I don't have to trawl through a huge article to get a little bit of information, but I don't think I'd go out of my way to read them, like I'll definitely read that, but I'd give them a quick read, it's only quick

S: if it was there, a bit like the metro, if it was there you pick it up and read it

V: if it was like an online article you get the feeling that you'd like click on some of the sayings and it would lead you through to a bit more detail

N: yeah having like links in it

V: yeah, that's what I get from it, like you know where it said his new policy, it doesn't tell you what his new policy was so you think oh I'll just click on that to see what it was quickly and come back to it

Me: any other instances where you wanted more information?

N: I kind of wanted to know more about, where they've got this quote from somebody who has been involved with the riots, is that what is says? Oh, somebody who attended the silent march, that's in C, it doesn't really tell you about that person, their background, what their position is, that might add something to the article in that one but I don't know if I'd be inclined to do any extra reading about it, but I think it would work as part of that

C: I'm a bit of a link clicker, like if I'm reading a news article say on BBC, they do often put related links, I will read them, not the whole article

S: especially names of people, read up who they are

C: related articles and stuff, I do tend to have a quick look

V: it's the vagueness of, where is it? Where he said he was going to visit the family

C: and you weren't sure if it was going to go ahead

V: and then it just said [laughs], you were not sure if was going to go ahead, it's things like that, it's a bit like oh

S: it cuts it off a bit

C: I remember reading that as well

V: It cuts it of a bit but also I think, I don't know where it is, but also I think well if he's agreed to go then I don't know why, it just seems a bit random to say we don't know whether that will go ahead

S: why don't you know? [laughter] sort it out, why don't you

Me: Where is that?

N: 12 of A, is that it?

C: it was unclear if the meeting would take place, aides said, Sarkozy had offered to meet the dead youths' parents, but again it makes me feel like they're trying to make me think that Sarkozy's not very nice, he's offered but he probably won't be bothered

V: there's nothing in what he's done, there's no proof in what they're saying that leads to it not taking place

C: it might be actually that the parents have said they don't really want to meet him, it could quite easily come from both sides but that sentence does very much feel like, he said he'd go but he might not be bothered. And I think actually had I not read A about the riots, and then we read C and it says, it reawakened memories of the violence that struck many poor French suburbs in 2005, if there was a link about the original riots, I may well have gone and found out what that was

N: yeah, I think I probably would have read that

C: Had I not read A and read C and didn't know about the riots that it has suddenly brought back memories of, I probably would want to know a bit more about what happened there

V: I would definitely click on the link showing him saying what a dummy

C: Yeah, yeah

N: yeah, get lost jerk



**Appendix 5.6: Sample from FOREIGNISED pilot group** (after reading/discussing all 4 reports)

Me: ok, so we don't have any particular knowledge or background experience of France, do you feel like you're able to understand, does it give you enough to engage and understand?

L: I think it gives you enough to understand but not to like form an opinion on, or to be able to start a debate about it, I can understand it and have a very light discussion with someone based on that, but not form an opinion, but then I'm not interested in politics full stop so maybe I'm the wrong person

C: it gives me an opinion but only based on the way they're written, yes I completely understand them and what's in them gives me enough to understand the problem and there's statistics in them, apart from D, to be able to go OK, the outcome of like the immigration, the figures are going down, I pull out what I need to and I understand the whole story, but in terms of wider context, no, I couldn't go and have a proper conversation on immigration just from the article because you don't know what the other side is, these immigrants as they call them, are they immigrants in a bad way, yes there's some illegal ones but the ones that are legal, they could be coming over and doing amazing things, research jobs etc.

E: or has issues such as rape, drugs, crime

C: yeah, has crime gone up

E: yeah, is that something that is a big issue

Me: what about you D, do you find them relevant? Do you feel like you were able to understand, like you read it online or you read it in a newspaper, do you feel like you got it?

D: yeah, no, I feel like I get it, I just feel like it's not summarised enough for me, to emote, as in feel anything other than, 'oh dear'

E: [mimicking voice] oh what a nightmare

D: rather than oh that's really bad, or I wonder why he did that, or that makes me angry, do you know, I don't get an emotion to it, whereas quite often if I read the news or watch the news I'll be like I can't believe that or that's great if there's something about a puppy or whatever, do you know what I mean, you know I don't form an emotion to it so I found it very difficult to read because I wasn't getting carried away with and what happened then? I didn't feel that. I found them quite hard to read, most of them, I was like, I'm on point 4 and I'm struggling, I don't know if anyone else felt like that but I felt like it was hard to read so then I didn't, I'd get it, but it didn't...

Me: so can you pick out why it's hard to read?

E: I think it's just because it's in France [laughter] and for me it's nothing to do with where we live because we've got stuff going on in this country, if this was all about the UK – does that make me sound really bad if I say that? If it was all about the UK I'd be so much more interested in reading about it and finding out, because normally what I do is if I see any of these titles, bar maybe D, I'd wanna know more about it because it's something that is effecting me and my generation, where I live, I just think yes they're part of the EU and they're an important part of what makes our, everything, but these are the same issues we have in this country

Me: so it's an interest thing more than the actual writing would you say or is there something about the actual writing?

C: the way some of them are written, they don't flow, very easily

E: A

C: like C or maybe B, I think C, flowed nicer

E: Yeah I think that's the one we all decided

C: whereas A & B are more like fact fact fact fact, without giving you an overall idea of what the context is, what's the overall situation, I get that he defends crime policies after Paris riots for example in A, yes that's an isolated story but for someone who doesn't read that all the time I don't know the context around it to judge a proper opinion, I can make an opinion from it, there's enough for me to understand it and go on, but it's not like someone fresh can come to it and go, ok, right, I get a balanced idea of what is happening, now I can make an overall opinion